Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-204 *23 October 1995*

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Croatian President Addresses UN General Assembly

LD2210174995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We showed that we have enough courage to wage war, rest assured that we have even more courage for peace, Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman said a few moments ago in his speech at the ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the UN. Tihomir Vinkovic reports from New York. [passage omitted]

[Vinkovic] In his address at the UN General Assembly session, the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my pleasure to address the summit of the world's heads of state at this ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the UN on the threshold of the new millennium.

How much power has gathered today under the roof of the General Assembly and how much impotence to offer immediately all solutions for a better common future of our nations and the whole planet. Ahead of us is a long and thorny path, but we can look back with pride to the 50 years we lived together. New sovereign states have risen from the chaos of colonial and ideological empires, and the number of UN members has increased by almost four times since its foundation.

The [?historic] process of general democratization could not have stopped with the mere reform of political systems; it required versatile transformations. The Iron Curtain, the totalitarian curtain that cut Europe in two, was torn down not only by the determined policies pursued by the Western democratic world, but also by the wish for freedom of nations that are small in number but big in their historical heritage. The fate of small nations is to play the role of the advocates of great ideas. They are the bearers of positive energies in the evolution of humankind, which turn the struggle for national survival into a creative vision of the future to come in which there will be no small and big ones, no weak and strong ones, but only equal nations and states dedicated to coexistence.

The boundaries of our freedoms are limited by the boundaries of other people's freedoms. The affirmation of human dignity and the universal rights of every individual, which the UN Charter advocates, can only be realized through respect for different national, religious, cultural, and political identities, through an effective system of collective security and through the rule of the law-governed state and international law.

We must turn negative energy into positive energy. We must ensure ever greater respect for civilizational differences, their creative interaction and equal dialogue. A multipolar world is more stable than a bipolar one. The future of humankind lies in a multipolar world.

The world order can no longer be based on a special position of the antifascist coalition or the club of nuclear countries, or on the economic or military power, but primarily on the realistic contribution made by individual countries in stifling any kind of totalitarianism and weapons of mass destruction, on their role in the world's economic and social development, their democratic achievements and their regional importance.

For example, we must take into consideration the democratic and economic potential today of both Germany and Japan, the countries that, based on their criteria, deserve permanent membership in the Security Council. The UN must provide a breeding ground for the ideals of human values in general, international solidarity, and a more just international order. Our responsibility to narrow the rift in development and encourage a balanced development of all parts of the planet is equal to our responsibility for peace in the world.

As one of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, Croatia is also considered one of the founders of the UN, whose heritage was written down in the UN Charter 50 years ago. Building up on the old global humanistic visions—from Pan-Slavic, Pan-European, nonaligned, and ecumenical ones to universal and cosmopolitan ones—the Croatian people have interwoven the high-aspiring ideals of the charter in its culture.

The Croatian people appreciate the values of the multilateral mechanism of the UN, via which the problem of the Croatian state-building emancipation and the establishing of full sovereignty throughout Croatia's state territory have been internationalized. Croatia would like to take this opportunity to express its gratitude to the UN, especially for the huge humanitarian effort in alleviating the suffering of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Croatia and the neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are entering the final round of the peace negotiations hoping that they will bring an end to the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and find a formula for a just and lasting peace. A just peace for the Croatian people and its democratically elected authorities means the establishing of Croatia's full sovereignty throughout its territory within the internationally recognized borders. Croatia sincerely hopes that an agreement on peaceful reintegration of the remaining 4.5 percent of the still-occupied Croatian territory will be reached soon. At the same time, we are ready to take different steps if the issue of speedy reintegration of eastern

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Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem is not part of the final peace plan for solving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

We have shown that we had enough courage for a defensive war. Rest assured that we have even more courage for peace.

Excellencies, we, the leaders of the modern world, have the huge statesman responsibilities to be united, to be above separate, individual, party and national interests, to seek a vision of a new world in which there will be a future for every individual, every nation and state, for the versatility of the spirit and the tolerance of diversity. Let the noble visions of the new millennium develop on peace and prosperity of every individual, community, and nation, and on the harmony in the world's family of states, whose shared house is the lighthouse of the UN. Thank you. [end recording]

Bosnian Croat, Muslim Representatives To Meet

LD2310093495 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 0900 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Croat-Muslim Federation are meeting in Madrid today and tomorrow to try to improve the way the federation works, following its creation by the United States. The meeting is being held in Spain because Spain holds the European Union Presidency. The meeting will be attended by Bosnian Croat and Muslim representatives, who, until the creation of this federation, were fighting each other in the Bosnia-Herzegovina war.

A total of 296 soldiers of the Galicia Tactical Unit return to Spain today from the former Yugoslavia. The return of the 1,380 soldiers making up this unit will be carried out in stages. The Galicia unit will be replaced by the Aragon Unit.

Oleksy: Poland Can Link NATO to East Europe

LD2210175595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Speaking at the UN anniversary session in New York, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that Poland wanted to become a useful and welcome bridge and not some no-man's-land or a gray zone, not needed by anyone. One must not allow new divisions in Europe, this time economic ones, Oleksy said. According to the Polish prime minister, Poland now has an opportunity to become a link between the North Atlantic and East Europe.

The prime minister pointed out that the cornerstone of Poland's foreign policy and of the successive Polish Governments after 1989, including the present Cabinet, was the aspiration to become part of the European structures. He stressed that this did not mean turning away from our neighbors in the East or South. [passage omitted]

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EU Disturbed Over Possible Dissolution of Sejm

LD2010214495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1736 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The EU is disturbed by statements from certain presidential candidates in Poland to the effect that they will dissolve the Sejm even if this is not permitted by the constitution. During a visit to Brussels, Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych assured Klaus Hansch, chairman of the European Parliament, that he will not permit the constitution to be violated. Jozef Zych also told journalists that his interlocuter stressed the need to maintain civilian control over the Army, just as is the case in all countries of the Sixteen.

[Begin Zych recording] In this case, my role came down to clarifying constitutional issues and to explaining the fact that there is no such threat here. I spoke about the fact that there is significant progress; after all, last week the extraordinary commission for supervision of the special forces began work. The new draft constitution regulates this issue. So I think there are no serious problems here, albeit, indeed, they are being raised, but as it happens not here. [end recording]

Klaus Hansch said that he will come to Warsaw at the invitation of Speaker Zych for a meeting of the parliaments of eastern Central Europe, which will take place at the beginning of December.

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National Front Head Returns From 49-Year Exile

AU2110205695 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 21 Oct 95

[Report by Amalia Dhamo]

[FBIS Translated Text] After 49 years of long and difficult exile dictated by Enver Hoxha's communist regime, Professor Abaz Ermenji, chairman of the National Front [Balli Kombetar] Party, arrived in Tirana today.

[Begin Ermenji recording] I feel very happy to be among Albanians, something which I have been waiting with patience and confidence to come true for 50 years. That is why I would like to have my say, which constitutes the center and the essence of my political conception on Albania, that a national unity is needed, as broad and as strong as possible. [end recording]

Leaders, members, and sympathizers of the National Front Party, the chairmen of the Republican Party, the Albanian Democratic Union, and the Association of Former Political Persecutees, friends, relatives, and fellow-combatants were out to welcome Professor Ermenji.

This afternoon, Professor Ermenji held a meeting with the National Front Party members and sympathizers.

AD, PSD Join Forces in 'Pole of the Center'

AU2110205895 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 20 Oct 95 p 1

[Article by A.C.: "The Pole of the Center Makes Its First Political Move"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The Pole of the Center has begun to move. Skender Gjinushi of the Social Democratic Party [PSD] and Arben Imami of the Democratic Alliance [AD] are "storming" Kukes together today. The two parties, under the name of the Pole of the Center, are organizing a joint meeting with the electorate in this constituency. What is the meaning of this pole? Why have the PSD and the AD decided to work together, and what will they promise to their voters for the future? Here are the main points that the leaders will explain to the people of Kukes at the rally today.

Only a few days ago, Ceka, Gjinushi, and Zogaj met in the PSD headquarters in the capital. The PSD and AD leaders decided then to create a legal bureau whose task, according to them, would be to protect the parties of the Pole of the Center and its political representatives, to lodge with the European Court at Strasbourg a suit contesting some articles of the Genocide Law, and to undertake joint political activities. The AD and PSD launched the idea of a Pole of the Center about two months ago. The idea came prominently to the fore after some people advocated a new electoral law with a threshold of 8 percent of the votes for entry into parliament. The creation of possible alliances among several opposition parties was one of the political issues dominating the newspapers. The affinity between the AD and the PSD was expressed immediately in statements by the two parties' leaders. While the Socialists said they were open to political alliances, other statements came from the AD and PSD headquarters. Ceka and Gjinushi then said that they would not make preelectoral alliances with the Socialist Party. Zogaj also supported this declaration, although he admitted that the problem of alliances was one that could be discussed again at another time.

Privatization of 30 More Enterprises Announced

AU2110205595 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 21 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Arlinda Causholli: "Vrioni: Do Not Sell Bonds—They Will Create Property for You"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"Do not sell your bonds. They will create property for you," was the message of Finance Minister Dylber Vrioni at his news conference following the announcement that 30 more enterprises will be privatized. "The second tranche of enterprises to be put up for privatization is now ready," Vrioni said. "They will be published next week. They include three electricity distribution stations in Vlore, Shkoder, and Elbasan." In fact, the finance minister envisages many problems, because the enterprises that will be privatized—there will be more than 100 in all—will have many shareholders and this will lead to management difficulties. "A statute that will be valid for their new owners has, therefore, been prepared," he explained. "In all events, the bonds will have real value, and they must not be sold or left unused. The first phase of their distribution came to an end in June and, if people leave them to one side, they will lose out. However, I am convinced that the results of the first phase will persuade people." The Finance Ministry has meanwhile created an Investment Funds Supervision Committee, which has the task of putting the bonds to use and investing them in different enterprises. This committee has the right to issue licenses for investment funds.

Talking about the latest changes in the way enterprises are being privatized, Vrioni emphasized that "now even workers on welfare have the right to place on deposit in advance two bonds from the other phases."

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Country Described as FYROM's Only 'Real' Ally

AU2010133495 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 17 Oct 95 p 6

[Article by Georgi Apostolov: "World Fears Independent Macedonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regardless of who the perpetrators are, it appears that the attack against Kiro Gligorov, president of independent Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], corresponds to the interests of most political players in the region.

The development of events after the establishment of independent Macedonia shows that neither the superpowers nor the immediate neighbors are interested in the emergence of another independent state in the Balkans. This applies to all neighbors, except Bulgaria. Despite the fact that certain circles, even in Skopje, are trying to forget this, there exists a clear historical fact: Regardless of the ridiculous quibbles behind the scenes, it was precisely Bulgaria who first recognized independent Macedonia. Unfortunately, it appears that everyone else would have preferred us to be the last.

Despite the fact that Greece agreed to lift the embargo in exchange for stripping the Macedonian national flag of the Star of Vergina, the Greek politicians cannot imagine even in their worst nightmares the consolidation of a prospering Macedonia. Their guilty historical conscience against the background of denationalizing one third of real Macedonia through the most drastic actions, prompts them to fear that one day they could be reminded of this.

Serbia has even greater concerns. Both during the monarchy and Tito's period it surpassed the Turks and Phanariots [people of Greek origin employed by the Turks to subjugate Slavs during the period of Ottoman control] in anything related to bloody repressions. Belgrade, whose aspiration to preserve "Great Yugoslavia," which has been lost forever, appears ridiculous with Montenegro being its only partner for the time being. Therefore, Belgrade relies very much on its former nomenklatura in Skopje's leadership in an attempt to "bring" Macedonia again in under the Yugoslav roof.

Romania also prefers Macedonia to remain a province of Serbia, which otherwise will emerge too weak from the post-Yugoslav wars. Some people in Bucharest think that a strong Belgrade will be able to rule with an iron hand over the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, and will prevent the spark of the autonomy ambitions from crossing the border to Transylvania.

For its part, small but ambitious Albania would have nothing against acquiring not only Kosovo, but also a part of southern Macedonia. For this purpose it is prepared to utilize its minority in Macedonia. Turkey would hardly protest against such a development, because this would consolidate the Muslim factor in the western Balkans and squeeze Greece, its perennial foe, with Islamic tongs.

In addition to their purely nationalistic fears and ambitions all Macedonian neighbors have a common and great fear, namely, that sooner or later independent Macedonia will become a real friend of Bulgaria, which already travelled its part of the road toward erasing the bad memories of the recent past. "Two Bulgarias," as the Greek TO VIMA newspaper formulated this fear, would be too much for any potential regional power, and all Balkan states (overtly or secretly) aspire toward this goal.

One is concerned by the fact that perhaps because of the complex problems, or because of strengthening the Macedonian statehood, the superpowers, as always, are inclined to preserve the archaic status quo, thus preserving their own tranquility. At a meeting at the National Assembly Commission on National Security, which took place at the end of September, U.S. Ambassador William Montgomery and Georgiy Muradov, Russian charge d'affaires, demonstrated a puzzling unity of thought. Both have unanimously doubted Macedonia's ability to remain an independent state, KONTINENT learned from several sources with first-hand information. Against the background of the sharp controversies over the Yugo-conflict, intended for the broad public, the United States and Russia have coinciding interests to preserve the balance of powers in the region, and obtain "satellites" which could be manipulated easily in order to further their own interests. For this purpose it is very convenient to prevent any possibility of the emergence of something of a political alliance between any two Balkan states. Therefore, they, too, view an independent Macedonia, which is friendly to Bulgaria, as a destabilizing factor.

The UK and France, Belgrade's traditional friends, would like very much for their historical ally to retrieve its strength by ceding Macedonia, or at least a part of it, despite the risks of a new conflict.

It appears that Germany could be the only potential ally of Bulgaria and Macedonia. It is interested in strengthening Croatia and Slovenia, and this could happen more easily if Serbia is maximally weakened, and its attention directed toward the south.

This complex tangle of interests does not bode anything good for Macedonia or for stability in the Balkans as a whole. Therefore, the sooner Skopje's politicians realize that they could find real allies only in Sofia—the better. Only a united lobby with the participation of Bulgaria,

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Croatia, and eventually, Austria and Hungary, could be able to improve the pessimistic prospects for the independent Macedonian state.

Kozloduy Receives Fuel for Recharging Reactors

AU2310104895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report from correspondent Veronika Pantaleeva in Vratsa]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nuclear fuel for recharging reactor units Nos. 4 and 5 of the Kozloduy nuclear power station has arrived at the station's river port, Kozloduy's press center has announced. Today the fuel will be transported to the fresh fuel store, and at the same time it will be inspected and checked. When the checks are completed, work will start on refueling reactor unit No. 5 with fresh nuclear fuel.

At the moment, four of Kozloduy's six reactors are in operation. Reactor No. 1 is operating at full capacity; nos. 3 and 4 are working at 50 percent of their capacity; and the 1,000-megawatt reactor no. 6 is operating at 80 percent of its capacity.

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Havel Advises Against Military Expenditure Cuts

LD2210150995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 22 Oct 95

["Conversations at Lany" interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna at the Prague airport on 20 October, before Havel's departure for the United States—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] We are recording this issue of the regular "Conversations at Lany" at the Presidential Lounge at the Old Ruzyne Airport in Prague on 20 October, as you are, Mr. President, leaving for the United States within an hour. [passage omitted]

Two important parliamentary issues emerged this week. The first was your meeting with the Parliamentary Budget Committee. [passage omitted]

[Havel] I can mention some of the issues we discussed. For instance, the Social Democracy voices the view that more cuts could be made in the draft budget as regards the expenditure on the Army, spending this money on citizens' security instead, arguing that currently the security of our citizens is a more important issue.

My view is that at this moment it is necessary to invest in our Army as we are currently going through a period when our integration into the European security system is being decided. A decision is being made about what guarantees we will have, where we will in fact belong for decades to come, and whether we can defend ourselves against a threat. All this despite the fact that we are under no immediate threat, that there are no foreign armies on our border about to attack the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, much investment is needed in the modern infrastructure of our command and communication systems because these elements will bring about the compatibility of our Army with NATO armies. In the long-term view, we also need to work on rearming our Army. These things are in our own interest but perhaps even more in the interest of our children. I think that an immediate interest should not be placed before our long-term interests.

About 2 percent of our GDP goes to the Army. This is less than in stabilized countries that already have modern weapons and are NATO members. In my view, it would be really ill-advised to reduce this figure further.

By saying this I am not, of course, saying we should not do everything possible to improve the internal security of our citizens. That is natural. We need to spend money there as well. However, perhaps what is needed even more than money here is society's cooperation and the strengthening of the police authority. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister on Social Democrats, Privatization

95CH0365A Prague TYDEN in Czech 4 Sep 95 pp 21-25

[Interview with Vaclav Klaus, prime minister of the Czech Republic, by Karel Hvizdala, Michal Ruzicka, and Jefim Fistejn; place and date not given: "Vaclav Klaus: Satisfied"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [TYDEN] Mr. Prime Minister, the results of public opinion polls indicate that the voting preferences of Social Democrats and the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] have virtually become equalized. On the ladder of popularity, you have been overtaken even by Milos Zeman, as well as Petra Buzkova. Some people justify this by pointing out errors made by the ODS; others say that this is clever politics on the part of the strongest opposition party. How do you analyze the situation?

[Klaus] First of all, I have not yet heard anyone say that the voting preferences have become equalized. The ODS continues to have an advantage. And the ladders of popularity? I do not overestimate them. They are something completely different from the actual election preferences of citizens. If you recall, prior to the last elections Mr. Dienstbier was in first or second place on the ladder of popularity; in the end, this was not enough in order for his party to enter parliament.

I consider the process that has developed in this country to be a natural one and a logical one. In the middle and in the second half of the election season, every governing party becomes a relative loser because it carries the entire burden of decisionmaking. The charming smiles of the opposition and its statements in which it claims that it will govern better and will make sure that people have more money are an absolutely customary weapon.

[TYDEN] But the fact that preferences for the Social Democrats have been showing a rising tendency is evident. We are interested in how you will react to this.

[Klaus] I believe that the growth in preference for the Social Democrats is not a growth regarding the popularity of a certain political program. It is an expression of rationalization and simplification involving the Czech political spectrum, the disappearance of a large number of small leftist parties through the trapdoor of history and the understanding, by voters, that it is logical to favor an entity that has a hope of asserting itself. In other words, I do not see this as an ideological shift among the Czech public. Certainly, it is better for the Social Democrats to have 20 percent than to have 10 percent, for the Movement of Pensioners to have 5 percent, and

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the Liberal Social Union, which is a poorly defined entity, to also have 5 percent of the votes.

[TYDEN] The plot line pertaining to the development of voter preferences—and primarily some of its downward ticks—can also be explained as being the result of certain failures of the government in health care, education, or housing policy, which are areas that irritate the public. What is new in these areas that you want to offer?

[Klaus] I do not believe that they irritate the public. Some of the malcontents simply find enormous echoes in the communications media. This echo is absolutely inadequate to express the actual feelings among citizens regarding these areas of our life. If we had any new simple trump cards, then I would keep them as trump cards in the preelection campaign so that I would not be revealing them to the periodical TYDEN as early as the beginning of September 1995. But let us put the question another way: Do any of the citizens of this country know of any kind of idea to solve the problem of health care, which originated from the ranks of the Social Democrats? If I say that I have never seen such an idea, this is not a matter of a coarse assault on the Social Democrats, but rather an analytical judgment—a mere description of the factual situation. To keep saying merely that something does not function is bad politics, and I do not believe that the voters would fail to understand that.

[TYDEN] For example, in a recent interview for TYDEN, Milos Zeman stated that the situation in the health care industry could be solved by a single state insurance facility, which could never lead to a breakdown of the system and to the indebtedness of hospitals....

[Klaus] The original government proposal also figured on a single insurance facility. I myself believe—much like anyone in this country does—that the current number of insurance facilities is excessively high. But this government inherited the present system of financing health care from its predecessor. You probably know that I am proposing a solution calling for individual health care accounts. This is the only possibility for expressly restricting the power of the insurance facilities. The idea that the Social Democrats would take power and forcibly unite 25 insurance facilities into a single one is horrible. We experienced such leftist conduct for 40 years.

[TYDEN] The social and wage demands of a number of professional groups are multiplying. The opposition claims that alleged tax evasion is of such an extent that even a fraction of these resources would suffice to cover all wage demands made by dissatisfied workers. Mr. Zeman states that, while wage demands amount to several hundred million korunas [Kc], tax evasion amounts to Kc50 billion—and that he has thus found a source. What do you think of that?

[Klaus] First of all, the demands of some workers do not amount to hundreds of millions, but rather involve completely different amounts that are higher by one to two zeros. Let us reduce Mr. Zeman's considerations on tax evasion by a few zeros, and then we will arrive at meaningful numbers. If Milos Zeman should happen to know where taxes are actually being evaded, it is his duty to so report, because this is a criminal act. But he never knew and is only bluffing in this way.

[TYDEN] Milos Zeman is basing his statements on what is being said by some police officials; namely, that taxes amounting to around Kc30 billion were evaded only, for example, in the case of taxes on heating oil.

[Klaus] I have never heard this amount mentioned and I suggest that we not act like auctioneers; let us reduce the amount by taking away some zeros.

Of course, it is the duty of every state to oversee the fulfillment of all laws—in other words, even tax laws. You know full well that the struggle of a tax official with tax evasion is permanent everywhere in the world. Even in this country, we are pursuing all possible ways of evasion; when one way is secured, some people find another. This is an ongoing process and I fail to understand about what type of massive tax evasion the opposition is speaking. This is unfair.

They frequently ask me about tax evasion at meetings. When I am confronted with this question—for the most part, from a self-confident-looking gentleman—instead of answering, I will ask whether this gentleman can guarantee that he was never himself guilty of tax evasion? Who in this hall has never received Kc1,000 from a neighbor for fixing an automobile or a television set, for stuccoing a house or fixing the gutters, without reporting that income at tax time? If we all begin from our own situation, then we shall arrive at a solution.

[TYDEN] Milos Zeman proposes, in conjunction with prosecuting fraud, the creation of a financial inspectorate and a number of some form of show trials, which would serve as a warning for others....

[Klaus] The structure of tax organs and offices is a matter for the 10th rules of procedure. The creation of additional institutions does not signify the slightest advance—it is demagoguery. You surely know that we are desperately searching for qualified employees to staff financial offices because in this country, for a period of 40 years, no one was in training to become a tax collector. The scattering of those people who know how to do this a little bit already into two or three

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additional organizations will lead nowhere. And a few show trial punishments? This is what I am calling for all the time—this is not an opposition opinion. The fact that court action has thus far not proven able to demonstrate any kind of clear fraud is very disappointing, even for me.

[TYDEN] Another specific question has to do with privatization. Milos Zeman judges that coupon privatization is wrong because enterprises own powerful funds, the funds own the banks, and the banks are in the hands of the state. How do you react to this criticism?

[Klaus] In this country, Mr. Zeman is a critic of everything. I am fully convinced of the fact that privatization is a successful process. It is necessary to compare the status today with the zero measure of the private sector in this country five years ago and with the course of privatization in other postcommunist countries. The evaluation of the success of relative privatization is recognized worldwide. We all know that if coupon privatization had not been undertaken, then we would today be somewhere at the beginning of the transformation process, and if we would not want to be there, then there would be only a single possibility left to us: to sell the entire country to foreign capital. The fact that we did not do so is a unique outcome. We made it possible for stockholders to number in the millions of people and it is they who own the investment funds and the various corporations.

[TYDEN] Does this mean that you are satisfied with the structure of property distribution, which is characterized by a certain hegemony of the funds?

[Klaus] You know full well that we are not manipulators of history who decide on everything. We merely create the basic outline and the conditions. From the very beginning, we were afraid that not everyone would be able to master the secrets of coupon privatization, and that is why we chose the system of investment privatization funds as an aid to some individual participants. None of us could decide for the citizens whether they should keep their coupons for purposes of independent investment or whether they should deposit them into the hands of one of the funds. It goes without saying that the enormous number of citizens who, in the end, trusted the funds more than themselves surprised me. I had believed that the elemental lack of confidence among citizens with respect to unknown institutions would lead to different proportions. But watch out, this is not a mistake made by the government or by anyone else who participated in the process of coupon privatization. This is a matter of free and democratic choice for the citizenry.

[TYDEN] The question did not assume that the government had been some kind of designer of history in the final sense, but asked whether you are satisfied with the development of the ownership structure, or whether you are dissatisfied? You say that the power of the funds surprised you. Were you surprised by the amount of disfavor?

[Klaus] I believe that it would almost be better for the proportion to be different. But, at the moment, I have no need to speculate about this in any manner. Coupon privatization is primarily a spontaneous, evolutionary process that does not require any kind of radical intervention. It is clearly evident that we are as yet at the beginning of the formation of rational ownership structures, rather than at its end.

[TYDEN] Recently, there have been several disturbing reports from General Assembly meetings that signal the unfinished nature of legislation—there is talk of the need to better protect the interests of small stockholders....

[Klaus] On the table behind me, there are extensive analytical materials that do not reach this conclusion at all. In the media, some kind of a great game has begun regarding the protection of minority stockholders, but what does that mean? I am afraid that uninformed readers of newspapers perceive this as though someone intends to deprive them of their securities and that this could be done because the individual in question only has a few securities. That is nonsense. Anyone who holds three shares of an issue of a million is preordained to the exertion of a small amount of influence everywhere in the world when it comes to decisionmaking. Therefore, this is a piece of false populist humbug.

[TYDEN] We shall cite one specific example. According to law, stockholders of the Telecom Corporation had the right to familiarize themselves with the text of agreements that were to be adopted; this did not occur. This is clearly a violation of the law.

[Klaus] I cannot imagine that the owner of three shares in coupon privatization should be able to participate in a government session that decided on which strategic partner to select on the basis of the tender.

[TYDEN] Of course, but according to the law, the stockholder should have the opportunity to view the agreements several days before the General Assembly meeting.

[Klaus] I really am not familiar with the specific problem. However, if these agreements are several hundred pages in length and in various languages of the world, and to the extent to which small stockholders of Telecom number in the hundreds of thousands, it

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is difficult to publish a publication of several hundred pages in a pressrun of hundreds of thousands and I cannot imagine this.

[TYDEN] The Social Democrats are proposing the issuance of employee shares as an alternative to coupon privatization....

[Klaus] This is a conflict that the right has had with the left since time immemorial. Our government coalition rejected the idea of distributing property to those who work in the enterprises. Moreover, this conflict already fundamentally occurred in 1990, and it is definitively closed for us.

[TYDEN] Let us pass on to the question of housing. In LIDOVE NOVINY, you stated that mortgages would not solve this problem. Let us ask positively: What will resolve it?

[Klaus] State support for mortgages is merely a component in the intervention by the state into the housing problem. I am afraid that in this country, a totally false notion is developing that indicates that the housing situation can be resolved by us preparing some kind of magic measures—and that everyone will immediately have an apartment or will begin building a house tomorrow. Housing is the most complicated and most expensive investment in the life of a person.

[TYDEN] Anyone who can build is building. But those who cannot are in the majority. How do you confront the criticism that the government is not thinking of the socially weaker stratum, that it lacks a program of support for the development of social dwelling?

[Klaus] I must note that we consciously decided that the state would not become involved in the development of social apartments—and apartments in general. I believe that this is a correct decision. The choice of whether to build or not to build social apartments lies with the democratically elected representative authorities in towns and communities. They must consider whether to expend the resources they have to establish 10 houses or whether they would rather develop a new municipal sewer system, public lighting, or a water purification plant.

[TYDEN] How do you evaluate the cause of community public housing, which you first adopted and then renounced—today, from a greater distance?

[Klaus] I think that it makes no sense anymore to respond to this. I do not know what, if anything, new I could say on the subject.

[TYDEN] Let us pass on to foreign policy: The most expressed question of this year involves our relationship with Germany. In conjunction with your recent meeting with Bavarian Prime Minister Stoiber, a disagreement surfaced between you and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Why was that?

[Klaus] First, I must say that I consulted in detail on this meeting prior to the time it took effect with Minister Zieleniec. At this table at which we are sitting, I spent three hours in discussion with the minister on the outlines of the negotiations and on the coordination of our positions. Second, a day prior to our meeting, Vondra, deputy minister of foreign affairs, met with my deputy, Weigl; they wrote down those topics on which they agreed, topics that became sort of instructions pertaining to the negotiations. I completely fail to understand the wrong and unnecessary and evil game that has developed in this country on the political scene regarding the lack of preparedness of my meeting with the Bavarian prime minister. I have no idea how strongly I should state this. We all know very well that the finding of any formulations to cover a possible declaration regarding Czech-German relationships (regardless of whether it is adopted first by parliament and then by the government or vice versa) is not a question of the bureaucratic skill demonstrated by the negotiators at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although they must do a lot of work, it is clear that a fundamental political consensus is of primary importance.

[TYDEN] Is not the media fuss surrounding your meeting the result of the actual quarrel between yourself and Mr. Zieleniec? And is there not the danger of delay as long as there are different views even within the ODS, regarding key problems in international policy?

[Klaus] I believe it would be unfortunate if we were to shift such a fundamental matter as Czech-German relationships into the personal level, if this very task were to become the object of competition between politicians as to who deserves the greater amount of credit.

[TYDEN] Following your meeting, Edmund Stoiber expressed himself on Bavarian radio very radically: He considers not only the law on amnesty, but also financial indemnification for Sudeten Germans and their right to return. That surprised us.

[Klaus] You can only come to one conclusion on the basis of this. These are topics that are proposed for discussion only by one of the parties. The other side will state quite clearly what it thinks of this. That is how things went even at Domazlice. The German side truly talks very frequently about amnesty. This has not so much to do with amnesty as such, but mainly with the passage that states that all matters that occurred at that time were in accordance with the law. Of course, this is

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a formulation over which you yourselves would shake your head—if you read it again 50 years later—and you would ask what led the creators of the law to use such a sentence. So, we debated with the prime minister about amnesty and then about matters of that type.

[TYDEN] You are criticized for constantly talking only with intermediaries of Helmut Kohl; the criticism claims that a prime minister should deal only and primarily with the chancellor....

[Klaus] I consider this to be amusing. This year, I dealt with perhaps 20 German politicians, including President Herzog and four prime ministers of the governments of individual federal republics. At the beginning of the year, Chancellor Kohl and I sent mutual signals to each other indicating that we should meet. I have respect for the chancellor's view that he does not want to meet until meetings at a lower level result in the finding of contact areas.

[TYDEN] And are there now more clearly defined notions as to when you might meet with Helmut Kohl? Do you have a more precise time horizon?

[Klaus] I would not dare say.

[TYDEN] And the domestic preelection situation: Would you be willing to join a broad coalition with Milos Zeman?

[Klaus] I have explained many times over that there is no reason for this in this country. That is why I do not know how to respond to such speculation.

[TYDEN] And what if elections show that the polarization of the political scene has reached such a level that the other parties—for example, the ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance]—will fail to get into parliament?

[Klaus] I believe that the ODA will get into parliament. In my judgment, the present coalition will again obtain a majority of the votes.

[TYDEN] If the elections should, nevertheless, end up badly for you, would you remain in the opposition or would you leave politics—perhaps going to a university?

[Klaus] That is a speculative question.

[TYDEN] Finally, allow us to be more personal. When you were entering politics, you were direct, aggressive, and many people considered your speeches to be arrogant. Nevertheless, your popularity was on the rise. Now, we sense a somewhat different style—for example, in dealing with journalists—a more moderate and more accommodating style. And your popularity is no longer so great. How do you perceive these developments?

[Klaus] To be self-confident, arrogant, and ironic is the makeup of the opposition. Today, it is more likely that I must defend what I do, and that cannot be accomplished by assaulting Messrs. Zeman, Sladek, Ortman, and others. In a certain sense, the role of the prime minister is a uniting one. When I was merely the minister of finance—and furthermore a minister who played a fundamental opponent of virtually the entire government—my position was different. If you play King Lear, you cannot play him like Macbeth, or vice versa.

Assessment of Vaclav Klaus as Prime Minister

95CH0365B Prague TYDEN in Czech 4 Sep 95 p 22

[Commentary by Josef Vesely: "Public Relations—The Secret Love of Vaclav Klaus?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vaclav Klaus is the best prime minister the Czech Republic has ever had. Because he is the only one. However, anyone who has experienced this politician engaging in foreign activities from the angle that protocol permits journalists has no reason to doubt his capabilities to master the role with which voters have entrusted him, even in the international field. He knows how to be elegant with his partners and is fluent in several languages of the world. Another advantage he enjoys is a solid education in economics and a natural talent to react to new situations in an unfamiliar environment. At first glance, he is okay.

Despite these positives and certain successes, the Czech prime minister deserves to be criticized for his actions in the world and those involving his partners. This is not always an easy matter for a journalist. Not that there is no freedom of the press here. But many journalists feel completely uncomfortable, as though their criticism is unfair, even though it may be justified. After all, the majority of foreign trips made by Vaclav Klaus represents a generally comfortable opportunity for the media to gain access to "sensations." Normally, after his return, but more frequently while he is still aboard the aircraft, the chief of the Czech Government switches from using a foreign "measured" language to the common and even lackadaisical Czech language. One can always find at least one quotation that will "get out." Normally, he will refer unpleasantly to either the country visited, to Europe, or to some major geopolitical unit. This rarely benefits the interests of the state to the same extent to which it benefits the publication of newspapers or the aims of television broadcasters.

At one time, this standard approach wrought panic among foreign diplomats in Prague. Now, they only take notice occasionally. Since 1993, the prime minister has repeated his "solo performances" a number of times,

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without destroying the relationship with the country in question. Experts perhaps know that it is not necessary to consume the porridge at the same hot temperature at which it rolls out of the ether and at which it comes off the newspaper presses.

Thank God, because Klaus need no longer be a source of panic in diplomacy. In his relationship with the statesmen with whom he comes into contact, he is the ever more learned chief of government of a new and almost democratic republic. He is far more likely to be that than a manager of his own public relations, which he so likes to pass himself off as being.

And it must be recognized that in recent months the prime minister has been making undoubted progress. The proof? He talks out of one side of his mouth only regarding the semisecret negotiations with the confidants of Chancellor Helmut Kohl! And he also only occasionally scolds foreign correspondents.

When Vaclav Klaus embarked on his role as prime minister, our country's international standing hung precariously in the balance, but this industrious individual was unable to communicate the details of everything he knew to everybody all by himself.

He also arranged his own strategic contacts, albeit with varying success. Two years ago, for example, he promised the readers of RUDE PRAVO (referring to the Sudeten German problem) that he would personally verify for himself, at the meeting of conservative leaders of Europe in Budapest, what Chancellor Helmut Kohl actually had in mind for us. Once there, he went chasing after the renowned politician at receptions, but in vain. The chancellor spent more time with Jacques Chirac, as though he sensed that he was speaking with the future French president. The prime minister did not get ahold of Kohl until late at night, when fatigue lowered the chancellor's alertness. He let himself be informally interrogated. On that very day, the "hunter" Klaus proudly so reported to the public over television, forcing the German politician to specifically amend the version reported by his Prague colleague at a news conference in Bonn the next day. Czech policy with regard to its key neighbor is, perhaps, reaping this bitter harvest to this day.

Similar episodes in which the prime minister somewhat overestimated his own magic and his ability to improvise during spontaneous activities involving other neighbors, involving NATO as well as European institutions, are slowly beginning to diminish. Perhaps even here the changes in style are beginning to be affected by the learned statesman's own negative experiences.

Commentary Views Changes in Prime Minister Klaus

95CH0365C Prague TYDEN in Czech 4 Sep 95 p 24

[Commentary by Karel Hvizdala and Petr Novacek: "The Change in Vaclav Klaus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vaclav Klaus has changed. The self-assured, arrogant, pontifically sovereign and nonchalantly elegant political star has changed over a period of five years into a slightly stooped, completely gray, refinedly cautious government matador who is only occasionally reminiscent of the Klaus superstar of 1992 regarding any vital vibrations.

Let us now try to find out why these changes have occurred. There are at least two reasons. The first is completely natural and is based on changes in Klaus's standing and on the overall situation in the country. In two post-November Federal Governments, Vaclav Klaus was always an important, but, in the final analysis, only an ordinary minister who had to fight for his complete and uncompromising notion on the economic revolution today and every day in the cabinet, in parliament, in the media, and at countless meetings during his graceful travels throughout the entire republic. He needed the same amount of respectable commitment and passionate vitality to build a conservative rightist party from the wreckage of the Civic Forum [OF], a party he needed in order to be able to assert his radical reform. Both tasks required a coarse, unsentimental, and even impertinent style, which would fundamentally differ from the former *nomenklatura* mousy gray. Vaclav Klaus was personally disposed toward this extraordinary role, not only on the basis of his tenacity, endurance, awareness of purpose, extraordinary industry and efficiency, which is clearly based on his scientific background, but also on the basis of his attitudinal characteristics, a certain self-centeredness, accompanied by exhibitionist tendencies.

However, in his function as prime minister, Vaclav Klaus had to become a bit more disciplined. He is no longer acting only for himself, but, both at home and also abroad, he represents a government among postcommunist countries that is, relatively speaking, the most organized and almost democratic state, which places him in a straitjacket. A rebel and a solo player has suddenly become a captain with responsibility for the entire crew as well as the ship.

The second reason for the change that has occurred in Vaclav Klaus is much more subtle in character because it has to do with the opportunities available to a personality formed under these conditions in expressly altered conditions. The clearly literate Vaclav Klaus

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remains a fundamentally educated economist, but in contrast to the times of the Gruender economic reform this special training no longer makes it possible to fully intervene in the current phase of the transformation: The latter tends to penetrate ever more deeply into areas other than economic areas—that is to say, into territories where Vaclav Klaus must rely more on his intuition and his ideological compass than upon specialized knowledge. Vaclav Klaus, with his temperament as the perpetual head of the class, is unfortunately not capable of breaking through these limiting barriers: His friends from the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] jokingly say about him in this connection that Klaus has always only distinguished between his ideas and bad ideas. Of course, this is a wisecrack, but it would seem that it precisely captures the idea as to why people in his environment are more reminiscent of a fan club than a team of respected partners and opponents.

In this situation, he has no choice in the end except to arrange everything himself. This results in absurd situations when, like a magician, he pulls from his hat such miraculous solutions as personal accounts in health care instead of demanding that the responsible minister do some conceptual work. These empirical improvisations, however, more than his industrious creativity, signal his internal insecurity. Such a Klaus, as is documented by popularity polls, impresses the public less and less.

If circumstances—for example, preelection pressure by his social democratic rivals—do not compel Vaclav Klaus to step out of this vicious circle, the immediate future will be able to respond to considerations as to whether he has exceeded his zenith with sad unambiguousness.

Iran Shows Interest in Inventor of Tamara

AU2010150395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Oct 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta and Jan Gazdik: "Iran Wanted To Get Tamara's Inventor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Iran, which has been striving in vain for several years to acquire the state-of-the-art Tamara espionage [spionazni] system, has attempted to get onto its side at least the Czech scientist who invented this unique device.

The Islamic country, one of those to which the international community recommends no arms be exported, turned to the author of this invention, Vlastimil Pech, about a year ago and asked him for a meeting that was not further specified. "A Czech-speaking official from the Iranian Embassy called me at home and claimed that he only wanted to talk about Tamara. I refused, however, and did not meet him," said 71-year-old Pech, the spiritual father of the passive radar. The inventor had not told anyone about the Iranian offer until today.

If the Iranians were to manage to get Pech, they would not be violating the generally recognized injunction according to which state-of-the-art military technology must not be exported to this high-risk country and could develop their own espionage device.

At the same time, experts consider the so-called brain drain to be as dangerous as direct weapon supplies to crisis regions.

Vlastimil Pech is convinced that the Iranians are amassing the information necessary to "give life to" and especially service a passive radiotechnical system. Its software is so complicated that Tamara cannot be mastered without special training lasting several months. "The Iranians expected a great deal from the meeting," he added.

This failure does not mean, however, that the Iranians have not acquired the information necessary for servicing a system from other experts. According to Pech, there are about 50 of them in the Republic.

There are about 800 experts in Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union to which Tamara and her predecessor Ramona were exported. They were trained by the Czechoslovak Army.

Pech's testimony is the only concrete evidence so far of the attempt to get Tamara into the high-risk region of the Persian Gulf. To date, only speculation about Iran's interest has been published in the foreign specialist press.

The domestic authorities do not intend to permit Tamara's export to Iran. At the moment, however, an investigation is under way to determine whether this country is behind the already approved, but suspect export of the espionage system to Kyrgysztan in Central Asia.

Tamara's spiritual father, Vlastimil Pech, maintains that he never intended to leave the Republic and sell his invention to another country. "It never occurred to me even when I was being persecuted for political reasons," he said. He confirmed, however, that the State Security and Army kept a very careful eye on him in the 1960's and 1970's.

Pech invented the radiotechnical passive system in 1960. The scientist has patented 30 inventions in Tamara alone.

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Schenk Dissociates Himself From Slota on NATO

AU2010150095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Oct 95 p 1

[Report by CTK: "Juraj Schenk Dissociates Himself from Jan Slota's Statements"]

[FBIS Translated Text] London—Slovakia's entry into NATO is one of the priorities of the present Slovak Government, and there is no reason to change this. Statements by individual personalities questioning entry are therefore "unfortunate and premature," said Juraj Schenk, Slovak minister of foreign affairs, at a news conference in London yesterday. He was reacting to Slovak National Party [SNS] Chairman Jan Slota's recent statement that Slovakia should not join any military alliances and should preserve its neutrality. Schenk considers such statements unfortunate primarily because they were made before publication of the study on NATO's enlargement.

Slovakia wants to join the EU as an equal partner. According to the minister, the legal and economic conditions for entry will be established in about 2000. Slovakia is ready to negotiate on admission to NATO after the intergovernmental conference to be held next year. According to Juraj Schenk, the political situation in Slovakia is "an expression of the transformation that all Central European states are undergoing. The only difference is that some problems, such as the relationship between the president and the prime minister, are more visible." "Other Central European countries, too, are struggling with similar problems. The crucial thing is that everything is taking place within the constitutional framework," Schenk said. Regarding the economic situation in Slovakia, the minister said that privatization has not come to a halt—"we are only choosing a different strategy from some states similar to us."

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 19 October on page 4 carries a 500-word commentary by Robert Kotian on Foreign Minister Schenk's visit to Great Britain entitled "Britons Again Concerned." The commentator calls Schenk's comments in London a "pioneering act" because the foreign minister "has become the first member of the Meciar government" to have "openly drawn attention to the unacceptable steps of the coalition partner from the SNS, which challenge Slovakia's political orientation."]

Official Denies Ministries Differ

AU2010150295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "pf": "NATO Does Not Divide Candidates for Admission"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] Jozef Gajdos, state secretary at the Slovak Ministry of Defense, denied at the news conference [held in Bratislava on 17 October, following talks with Anthony Cragg, NATO general secretary's deputy for defense planning] the existence of disagreements between the defense and foreign affairs ministries with regard to the issue of entry into NATO, regardless of the party affiliations of the two government departments' chiefs. He stressed that Defense Minister Jan Sitek has never expressed the view that Slovakia should pursue a path other than into Atlantic structures, such as, for example, neutrality. As is known, Slovak National Party Chairman Jan Slota, whose party delegated Sitek into the government, has expressed opposition to the Slovak Republic's entry into NATO. Speaking before Gajdos, Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unambiguously declared that Slovakia regards the enlargement of NATO as a natural process of securing stability in Europe that is not directed against any country.

Meciar on Privatization, European Integration

LD2010223695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1740 GMT 20 Oct 95

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Pavol Sveton; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sveton] The Association of Workers of Slovakia came forward with a proposal to amend the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. The amendment should concern Article 60, dealing with the Supreme Inspection Office [NKU]. According to the proposal, NKU powers should include the power to control the National Property Fund. Several opposition deputies have already taken a stance on this proposal. They have proposed shifting responsibility for privatization back to the government. Could their proposal be reassessed on the basis of experience gained in privatization so far?

[Meciar] It is no longer rational to deal with the shift of powers to the government because privatization will be completed within eight months. Several parties have assumed and argued that privatization is not happening at all. Now they have suddenly realized that it is coming

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to an end, and they are coming up with new proposals that result in an escalation of political activity.

I do not consider it right to move the privatization decisionmaking to the government. I do not think it right for the government to be a partner to a citizen or a business in a purchase contract. It would not be right for the government to negotiate the price. [passage omitted]

Privatization is carried out by the National Property Fund, which sells the property to individuals. The fund acts on behalf of the state and under the supervision of the National Council. If privatization were to be returned to the government, it would hit a bottleneck caused by the lack of time and organizational capacity. As a result, privatization would be slowed down again. I do not think that at present there is any need to hold talks on returning these powers to the government because the government is not carrying out privatization. It is the NKU that is doing so. Neither can the government join this privatization process and act as a controlling body because this power rests with the National Council.

[Sveton] [Passage omitted] According to unofficial information, the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty should be on the agenda of the November parliamentary session. Do you believe that Slovakia's political scene is already prepared to adopt this important document?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] At the beginning of November, in the very first days of November, just as I promised, I will present the treaty to parliament for ratification. Following talks with the deputies, I assume that the process of ratification will begin in November by discussions in parliamentary committees. Of course, the treaty will be put on the agenda of the plenary session depending on the progress of the political unification. It is difficult to say whether this will happen in November or December. In any case, the parliamentary process of ratification will begin in November. [passage omitted]

[Sveton] A NATO delegation visited Slovakia a few days ago and discussed the NATO expansion study with Slovak partners. According to Jozef Sestak, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, the NATO expansion program is not aimed against any other or any third country. In a few days' time, at the end of October, you will leave for a visit to Russia. Are you going to discuss this? What effect can these efforts have on our present and future cooperation with our traditional eastern partner? Boris Yeltsin said yesterday that NATO expansion is inadmissible.

[Meciar] This issue is at present extremely important not only for its informational content but also from the point of view of international politics. After the president's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, doubts were cast about the government's and my own personal orientation, as well as about our intention to implement the principles of the government manifesto with regard to the European Union, European integration processes, and security systems.

These doubts are of such an extent and represent such a serious interference in Slovakia's international political position that we are starting from square one in building the trustworthiness of our country abroad. All this has extremely serious repercussions. If a person does something like this, he or she is deliberately harming the state. No rhetoric can help hide this fact.

As regards our attitude toward Russia, we have clearly said and are saying again—and I am going to stand behind what I am saying now—that it is not possible to break economic cooperation with Russia. We depend on it for our raw materials, we are in debt to Russia [as heard]. Slovakia is a transit country between the East and the West. We cannot afford to lose this position of a transit country because that would lead to enormous economic losses.

We are not forming, and we do not intend to form any political, military, or other integration association with Russia aimed against anybody. The Slovak Republic has clearly said that it is following the path toward European integration. It was I and nobody else who signed the decisive documents on behalf of this state. This is why I am personally confirming that I am standing behind the views I expressed and signed on that occasion—and the government will implement them responsibly. Any doubts cast on this are irresponsible statements, regardless of who their author is.

As regards Slovakia's position in this period, we need to make it clear that, by saying that we are in favor of joining NATO, we are at the same time saying that we are opposed to splitting Europe into two blocs—in the same way the Americans and other NATO members are. This is why it is necessary to form a new security construction for Europe. [passage omitted]

Cabinet Seen Preparing for Anti-Western Policy

AU2110200795 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Marian Lesko: "Call For the Return of Old Days"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The routine course of the 17 October government session was disrupted by Agriculture Minister Peter Baco. From information he gleaned from THE ECONOMIST, ASAHI SHIMBUN, and other foreign newspapers, Baco deduced that "the liquidation of

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our state on the international scene, with the support of the opposition, is just culminating." By "liquidation" one usually means the abolition, destruction, or termination of something. Because the Slovak minister of foreign affairs, Juraj Schenk, did not notice anything of that sort and calmly departed for London, Mr. Baco apparently used the word "liquidation" to mean something else—perhaps some technical agricultural term. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that a member of the government thinks a state can be "liquidated" by articles in the foreign press.

The government as a whole carefully considered Baco's warning and detected behind the serious situation the endeavor to "put Slovakia into international isolation." How is this isolation manifesting itself? In the Slovak president's meeting with Bill Clinton and the Slovak prime minister's meeting with Viktor Chernomyrdin a few days from now, perhaps? Or in Juraj Schenk's negotiations in London on our path to the EU and State Secretary Sestak's discussions with the NATO secretary general's deputy on our path into this security organization?

The fact is that there exists no force in the world that could get Slovakia into international isolation. We can get into it only ourselves, by our own doing, or, more precisely, by the doing and statements of Slovak Government representatives. A step precisely in this direction was made by some of its ministers the day before yesterday, when they warned that, "if we are not in the Balkans, they will try to create it here artificially because Slovakia as a symbol of successful independent development and a state pursuing its own path can be dangerous for many foreign circles." According to our ministers and yesterday's statement by the Association of Slovak Journalists, Slovakia's own path is dangerous for "them"—that is, for many foreign circles. Excuse me, but where is this path of ours heading? The government swears that it is taking us into the EU and NATO! So why should it be dangerous for "them" if it leads directly to "them"? Because the ministers are evidently making things up [vymyslaju si], it is necessary to ask what their reasons are.

Ever since that famous November night last year, Meciar's third government has been confronted with one disagreeable fact: Foreign media and influential politicians speak very critically about its steps. While, initially, the Slovak establishment used to explain this by their lack of information, it has now changed the tone. Negative articles and statements are being assessed as an expression of the hostile attitude of "many foreign circles" toward the Slovak Republic. It seems that Meciar's Cabinet is preparing the ground for treating its "enemies" in a hostile way. This is what the Secretariat of the Association of Slovak Journalists [ZSN] quite explicitly called for. And because it [ZSN] cannot dismiss the chief editors of THE NEW YORK TIMES or ASAHI SHIMBUN, it asked the government to use all legal means "to punish those citizens of the Slovak Republic" who allegedly "intentionally and consciously damage the interests of our homeland." However, if the government complies with this call for the return of the old days and uses legal means, citizens of the Slovak Republic will not be punished. Should they be punished, then not by legal means.

Official Shows Interest in WEU Operations

AU2110165295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Oct 95 p 6

[TASR report: "J. Sestak Held Talks With WEU Head"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—Yesterday in Brussels, Jozef Sestak, the Slovak Foreign Ministry state secretary, met with Western European Union (WEU) Secretary General Jose Cutiller. The latter, according to the Slovak official, acknowledged numerous favorable trends in the economic development in the Slovak Republic, the active participation of Slovak troops in peace operations, and civilian control of the Army. According to Sestak, Slovakia would like to participate in such WEU operations as have been so far limited to the member states of this European military political institution. This would mean mostly participation in exercises and, later, possibly also in WEU military operations.

Kovac Rejects Accusation of Antigovernment Bias

LD2010154595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak President Michal Kovac left this morning for an almost one-week-long visit to the United States. Before his departure, he gave a short interview to Slovak Radio and Television. Here is Peter Stano:

[Stano] [Passage omitted] Slovak Radio asked Michal Kovac for his reaction to yesterday's comments by [Parliament Chairman] Ivan Gasparovic in Nove Mesto Nad Vahom. The chairman of the National Council said there that the president is an instrument in the hands of the opposition and that he has not heard the president criticize the opposition or praise the government. Because the president is so acutely partial, he is unacceptable to them, meaning presumably the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], the government, and the parliament:

[Begin Kovac recording] It is possible that the chairman of the National Council is not present at many meetings

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with foreign delegations, either at home or abroad, during which I give a fairly objective assessment of all of the positive things our government does, in both the economic and the political sphere. Of course, I do criticize, as I do at home, the practice of invoking undemocratic methods of rule. I believe that, if the opposition and I are in agreement on this, that alone does not constitute grounds for describing my position as partial. In questions of democracy, it is possible that I agree more with the opposition than with the ruling coalition, and I am very sorry about that. [end recording]

HZDS: Kovac Constantly Harming SR's Good Name

LD2110192495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The National Board of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] today dealt with the current domestic political situation, especially the concrete reactions to some of the events of the past week. [passage omitted]

[Goerner] Good evening. At a news conference held during the session, Stanislav Haber, director of the public opinion department and the HZDS spokesman, read the statement on current domestic political issues adopted by the HZDS national board. The statement says, among other things: The national board continues to be critical of the work of President Michal Kovac, who is constantly harming the good name of our Republic and who then labels such activity as a different opinion on the implementation of democratic ways of ruling. His activity is clearly destructive with regard to the principles of democracy, law, morals and ethics.

HZDS Deputy Chairman Arpad Matejka said at a news conference: They keep asking us why we attack the president. I stress that we have not yet attacked the president; we are only reacting. [passage omitted]

Haber confirmed that there were three possible ways of recalling the president. These may already be known to the public.

First is the possibility of shortening the president's term in office by law. The second option is to recall him by a vote of 90 deputies, and the third option is to call a referendum. [passage omitted]

The members of the HZDS National Board concluded that the HZDS was currently the only political entity in the Slovak Republic [SR] capable of tackling the problems of society in the process of the development of a democratic and economically prosperous state.

Commentary Notes Disputes in HZDS Over Treaty

AU2210161095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Oct 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "An Altercation Within the HZDS Over the Treaty?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement made by Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the Foreign Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, is remarkable, to say the least. He said Bratislava and Budapest have to discuss the interpretation of the controversial article that enshrines Recommendation No. 1201 of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly before ratifying the [Hungarian-Slovak] treaty nicknamed "Meciar-Horn" in the Slovak parliament.

First of all, it is an unusual diplomatic procedure. An international document that brings to both protagonists and both states open applause is being discussed again.

Moreover, this is happening at a time when the Hungarian parliament ratified the document some time ago. It would be difficult to imagine Horn's government starting some behind-the-scenes arguments regarding a controversial interpretation of a passage in the treaty.

If it is true, however, that a group of at least 12 members formed within the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], for whom the present text of the treaty is unacceptable, then the arguments of Dusan Slobodnik become more understandable. In such an instance, there is nothing left but to assume that the HZDS chairman and prime minister is getting into a situation where some of the deputies refuse to support him on this issue. It is impossible to rule out the possibility, however, that Slobodnik is trying to find an excuse for delaying the ratification until a more suitable time because it somehow does not fit with the plans of the coalition, or at least a part of it. As everyone knows, however, the government made a public statement, and Vladimir Meciar most likely made an oral promise to Gyula Horn in the Tatra Mountains that the ratification would take place as the November session closes. Because Meciar put all of his political weight on the finalization of this document, it would be difficult to expect that he would give up his baby so easily.

At any rate, of its own doing, Slovakia is getting into a situation against which it has been defending itself so vehemently—namely, of being an unreliable partner, which is not at all pleasant on the international diplomatic stage. Therefore, it would be quite reasonable if the prime minister, whose signature is on the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, commented on this problem and made the entire matter clear. Otherwise, it could mean far too many things....

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Allegation That Kovac Jr. Staged Own Kidnapping

AU2110164395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers on 18 October publish reports of two letters received by the Slovak press, which claim that the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr., the president's son, was staged by Michal Kovac Jr. himself. The opposition paper SME views the emergence of the two letters as the "unleashing of another intelligence game" in the case.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 October on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,400-word article by "ms, ad" entitled "Michal Kovac Allegedly Let Himself Be Kidnapped." The report states that the PRAVDA editorial office, along with other Slovak newspapers, received two more letters related to the Kovac abduction case "these days." The two letters, dated 11 and 15 October and mailed from Hungary, are said to be copies of letters originally addressed to an unidentified Slovak "minister." They are signed by Branislav Chilo-Ptak, who introduces himself as a former business partner of Michal Kovac Jr., and Kovac's companion, Marian S.

In the first letter, Chilo-Ptak claims that, in July 1995 Marian S. acquainted him with the "preparations for a plan that was to look like Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction to Austria" and offered him the chance to earn a lot of money. Chilo-Ptak's task reportedly was to take Kovac's silver Mercedes across the border to Austria and park it at Wolfsthal near the Slovak border, which he then did on 31 August. The staged abduction itself was reportedly organized by a certain Marian K. "During the preparations, I heard that some Hungarian from the Slovak Information Service [SIS] also was to participate in the operation. It was obvious that suspicion was to fall on the SIS (which then actually happened) and, through this channel, also on Mr. Meciar," Chilo-Ptak writes in the first letter.

In the second letter, Chilo-Ptak discusses his past business contacts with the president's son and his companion, Marian S. He alleges that he met the two through his cousin Peter Krylov in Munich. As the PRAVDA reporters explain, Peter Krylov, who has been sentenced in Germany to five years on fraud charges, is the "crown witness" against Michal Kovac Jr. It was on the basis of Krylov's testimony, they say, that the Bavarian prosecutor issued a warrant for the arrest of the Slovak president's son.

In an interview with the PRAVDA reporters, Marian S., Michal Kovac Jr.'s companion, acknowledges past contacts with Chilo-Ptak, who supposedly owes them money, but dismisses the contents of the two letters as "nonsense." Marian S. points out that the version described in the letters "strikingly resembles" the "version enunciated by one high-level state official." The PRAVDA reporters also recall that, in an interview given in Vienna on 4 October, after his release from custody, Michal Kovac Jr. mentioned that Peter Krylov's cousin had sought him out a few days before the kidnapping and offered him "information concerning further evidence against Krylov." "At first, it was a mystery to me why that man called on me. It did not occur to me then that this person could act as a decoy. Today I am convinced of this," Michal Kovac Jr. reportedly told reporters on 4 October.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 18 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word report by "pt" on Chilo-Ptak's letters, entitled "New Intelligence Game Unleashed in the Case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s Abduction." According to the report, SME has obtained a copy of the letter that Chilo-Ptak wrote to the president's son on 24 August, a few days before the kidnapping. In this letter, Chilo-Ptak reportedly asked for a meeting "in an important matter in your, as well as my, interest." In the view of the SME reporter, the aim of this letter was "to lure Michal Kovac Jr. out of his house to facilitate the assault on him and his abduction."

The SME report also provides additional information on Branislav Chilo-Ptak. Chilo-Ptak, an entrepreneur from Levoca, is supposedly being sought by Slovak police because of "fraud involving trade in alcohol and red caviar." According to SME, by testifying against Kovac Jr., Chilo-Ptak may be trying to be freed of the fraud charges.

Commentary: Absurdity Triumphs

AU2110204595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 19 Oct 95 p 4

[Commentary by Peter Toth: "Absurdity Triumphs in the Michal Kovac Jr. Case"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The conduct of the government, the prosecutor's office, and the director of the Slovak Information Service [SIS] in connection with the investigation of the abduction of the president's son abroad is absurd and reinforces the most horrendous suspicions that have surfaced in this case. The already second investigator, Major Peter Vacok, has been recalled from the investigation of the young Kovac's kidnapping. Justifying the decision to withdraw the investigation file from this investigator, Robert Vlachovsky, the overseeing prosecutor, said that he had obtained from the General Prosecutor's Office criminal charges, initiated by secret service chief Ivan Lexa, against the investigators of the Regional Office of Investigations, including Maj. Vacok. It is no secret that Lexa filed these charges shortly after the police tried to detain several members

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of SIS Counterintelligence. One of them, Jiri N., even spent one night in custody, but Robert Vlachovsky annulled investigator Peter Vacok's decision in this matter. He also annulled the decision of the same investigator to start prosecution against two SIS members (I.M. and O.F.) on charges of having been accessories to the criminal act of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad. It is remarkable how leniently the overseeing prosecutor approaches the accused in this case, what understanding he demonstrates for the charges brought by the secret service director against the investigators, and how indifferently he approaches the investigation process itself. In the preparatory stage of criminal proceedings, the overseeing prosecutor can and should take the offensive. Robert Vlachovsky acts defensively and deliberately so, it seems. To illustrate the absurdity of the situation, let us recall that the overseeing prosecutor of this case withdrew from the investigator the investigation file on the basis of charges brought by the same director of the secret service whom a former SIS employee identified as the person who had masterminded "Operation Kovac."

In any state with at least some standard of political culture, the momentary situation would be so explosive that the prime minister could not afford to cover up for a secret service director such as Ivan Lexa. And, in any such state, a prime minister could not possibly weather the parliamentary storm, not even before deputies of his own party, who would approach political terrorism like Vladimir Meciar does (let us only recall the first Press Club after Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction).

Now that Peter Vacok has been taken off the Michal Kovac Jr. case, we can expect that the government and SIS, with assistance from the prosecutor's office, have decided to erase once and for all any traces leading to the investigation of this case. The first step toward this could be the transfer of the file to the Banska Bystrica Regional Office of Investigations.

Commentary: Affair Expanding

AU2210185795 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Oct 95 p 12

[Commentary by Karol Wolf: "The 'Kovac' Affair Grows, the SIS Boss Keeps Quiet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The investigation of the kidnapping of the son of the Slovak president has continued for almost two months now, and, despite the mass of evidence, the entire affair seems to be outside the boundaries.

The reasons are obvious. The suspicion directed in this context against the Slovak Information Service (SIS) is ever more changing into certainty. The scandal that would ensue upon presentation of conclusive evidence that the SIS actually kidnapped Kovac, Jr. could not be covered up.

Even so, the situation surrounding the investigation of the abduction now is fascinating for an impartial observer. So far, in the course of the investigation, two investigators accused SIS of participating in the abduction, and nothing has happened. At least four cars used by the kidnappers and owned by SIS have been identified, and nothing has happened. Moreover, an investigation file containing investigator's requests to start criminal proceedings has been lying in the Regional Office of the Prosecutor in Bratislava for two weeks, and again nothing has happened.

It is obvious that, under normal conditions, such a situation could not be sustained. "Something" would have to happen. The idea that the secret service of a democratic country faces even a shadow of suspicion of such a caliber as SIS is simply inadmissible. This statement applies even more if we realize that, instead of conclusively disproving the accusation, SIS responds by an attack and charges the investigator with the crime of jeopardizing a state secret.

By means of this act, SIS Director Ivan Lexa openly attacked the police as a whole, and its highest official, the interior minister, in person. In this absurd situation, Slovak Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek, aware of his own inability to respond adequately, put up a typical Potemkin village. He recalled one of the attacked investigators and immediately appointed him head of the Investigation Department at the Police Academy.

The series of absurdities was concluded by Meciar himself, who declared several days ago that young Kovac may have left for Austria on his own and was not kidnapped at all. The Slovak prime minister dared to speculate like this after the investigator, the police president, and eventually even the interior minister stated that the son of the president was kidnapped. To answer the question how all of this is possible is not a simple task—assuming it was raised in an environment respecting common democratic principles and that it takes into account the phenomenon of public opinion, for instance, strength and influence of independent media, responsibility of politicians, etc.

After all, the real answer, based on the actual state of affairs, is very simple. SIS Director Ivan Lexa, just like the Office of the Prosecutor and, finally, the prime minister, simply can afford the mode of action described above. Namely, over the past few months, Meciar's regime managed to build a menacing network of power levers that can reach practically anything and, by their

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presence, draw over Slovak democracy an irrefutable question mark that can be seen from afar.

SIS Director Lexa himself can serve as the best example. This graduate of Moscow Komsomol School and son of the former head of the Slovak Government Planning Commission is today the SIS director, Slovak Parliament deputy, and member of the parliamentary committee tasked with control of the secret service activities.

Hungarian Movement Holds Congress, Elects Officers

LD2110202695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A new political entity, the Hungarian People's Movement for Reconciliation and Prosperity [Madarske Ludove Hnutie za Zmierenie a Prosperitu, MLHZP], held its constituent congress in Rimavska Sobota [southern Slovakia] today. Our correspondent Roman Grebac has more details.

[Grebac] The objective of the congress was to approve the statutes, program, and bodies of the MLHZP—that is, to appoint a 45-member national committee and the supervisory and ethics board, and to elect three deputy chairmen and the chairman. Gyorgy Gyimesi from Kralovsky Chlmec was elected party chairman.

The report prepared by the preparation committee and presented by the new chairman said that the movement had already established itself in 14 districts of the Slovak Republic, most visibly in its southeastern region. The movement's political program includes the national reconciliation of Slovaks and Hungarians and higher economic prosperity for Slovakia's south.

With whom will the new party cooperate?

Representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and Hungary's ruling Socialist party were present at today's constituent congress as observers. Representatives of the parliamentary parties of the Hungarian coalition [in Slovakia] were missing. I asked the newly elected chairman, Gyimesi, why this was the case.

[Begin recording] [Gyimesi] We have invited to our congress representatives of all of the parties of the Hungarian coalition. They, however, consider us to be their competition, their rivals, and they did not allow themselves even the smallest gesture of politeness to tell us that they will not come.

[Grebac] What political partner will you be looking for on the Slovak political scene?

[Gyimesi] Our movement proclaims to be at the left center and close to the parties that respect the principles of the Socialist Internationale.

None of the goals we set for ourselves either in the ethnic sphere or in economic policy can be achieved without cooperation with the Slovak Government and, hence, with the government parties. The key to resolving ethnic issues in Slovakia is not in Strasbourg but in Bratislava. [end recording]

[Grebac] At the end of the MLHZP constituent congress in Rimavska Sobota, the delegates adopted an appeal to the Hungarians and Slovaks living in the south to strengthen unity and the feeling of togetherness.

Duray Says Neighbors United Against Hungarians

LD2210111595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Miklos Duray, a prominent Hungarian politician in Slovakia, said that Slovakia, Romania, and Serbia have joined forces against the Hungarians. The chairman of the Coexistence Movement told Hungarians living in Paris that these countries are pursuing coordinated policies not only against Hungary but also against [ethnic] Hungarians living in their territories. By way of example, Duray cited Romanian-Slovak agreements that, he said, practically forbid minorities to initiate any solidarity action regarding the other country's politics. In Slovakia, the concept of the nation-state prevails, and Hungarians are regarded as second-class citizens, Miklos Duray said.

Jaroslaf Volf Reelected Chairman of SDSS

LD2210175795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jaroslav Volf, the present chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS], has been reelected. At the fourth party congress in Trencianske Teplice, 100 delegates of the 148 present at the congress voted for him.

Ivan Laluha, the other front-runner and a former high official of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], who represents the Revival [Obroda] platform in the SDSS, received 40 votes. The third candidate, [Ivan Paulicka], received seven votes [figures as received].

The election of the chairman was preceded by a long and stormy discussion, during which Volf's supporters voiced their opposition to the efforts to turn the party into an offshoot of the HZDS. They also voiced their disapproval of the political banditry exercised by the current government.

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Jan-Aug Economic Figures Reported

AU2010134495 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Oct 95 p 9

[Report by the Slovak Statistical Office: "In the First Eight Months of 1995, the Growth Rate in the Fundamental Sectors of Industry Accelerated, and Output Surpassed Last Year's Level"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Industrial output was 10.6 percent higher this August (in 1995 prices, without value-added and consumer taxes) than in the same month of 1994. Following a slowdown in June and July, the rate of growth accelerated again, and output in all of the fundamental sectors of industry surpassed last year's level. This is conveyed by the Slovak Statistical Office Report on Fundamental Tendencies of Development in Selected Sectors of the National Economy of the Slovak Republic in August and the Eight Months of 1995.

Industrial Output Increased

Goods worth 318.5 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] were produced in industry over the eight months, which is 7.8 percent more (in adjusted—comparable—prices) in comparison with the same period last year. The development reflects the increase in industrial production (processing) by 9.8 percent and the decline of output in raw-material mining by 2.3 percent and production and distribution of power, gas, and water by 2.6 percent.

The total volume of construction output (in 1995 prices) was 7.2 percent higher in August than in the same month last year. The favorable development has continued since February of this year and reflects the recovery in construction work abroad. During the eight months, Sk31.5 billion worth of construction work was done, which is 4.3 percent more than in the same period of last year. According to the results of enterprises with 25 or more employees (responsible for 61.4 percent of the total volume of construction output), the share of new domestic construction declined in the overall structure of construction work (by 2.2 percentage points to 78.9 percent).

Farmers With Greater Receipts

Agricultural enterprises registered receipts for the sale of agricultural products (without seeds and seedlings) 0.2 percent higher in current prices than in August 1994. Over the eight months, the volume of receipts for the sale of agricultural products (without seeds and seedlings) reached Sk18.6 billion, and in current prices surpassed by 5.1 percent the level reached in the same period last year. The receipts for vegetable products rose 2.6 percent and for animal products 6.1 percent. Adjusted for price development, the overall year-to-year increase in receipts amounted to 1.6 percent. Expressed in volume, slaughter animal sales declined on the year-to-year basis by 8.8 percent (of this, steer by 17.9 percent, hog by 2.1 percent, and milk by 1.3 percent). Sales of poultry over the eight months rose 23.3 percent in comparison with the same period last year, and eggs for consumption by 1.8 percent.

Retail sales receipts expressed in current prices surpassed in August by 16.5 percent the level of August 1994, and in comparable prices rose 6.1 percent. The eight-months retail sales expressed in current prices reached the volume of Sk175.3 billion, which is 20.4 percent more than in the same period last year. Adjusted for price development, the year-to-year increase amounted to 8.2 percent.

Public freight transport (excluding company transport) moved 8.1 percent more goods in August than a year earlier. A total of 61.3 million metric tons of goods were transported over the eight months, which is 9.1 percent more in comparison with the same period last year. All of the basic modes of transport registered growth—railroad 6.5 percent, road 13.9 percent, and water 21.7 percent.

Tourism Also Recovered

Within the framework of foreign tourism, 19.9 percent more people crossed individual sections of the state border in August than in August 1994, and 27.2 percent more Slovak citizens traveled abroad. Over the eight months, a total of 18.5 million people visited Slovakia via various border crossings and airports (year-to-year increase of 31 percent), and 11.1 million people traveled abroad (year-to-year increase of 24.9 percent).

Employment and Wages Rose

Employment rose in selected sectors of the Slovak economy in August in comparison with the same month in 1994 3,.3 percent in industry and 8 percent in trade. Construction employed 1.9 percent fewer workers and transport 3.7 percent fewer.

On the average over the eight months of the year, in comparison with the same period last year, there were 3.7 percent more employees in industry and 10.1 percent more in trade. Employment in construction was 0.2 percent lower than last year. While the decline in transport did not expand any further, 3.7 percent fewer people worked in this sector than a year ago. The average monthly salary was higher in August in all of the observed sectors than in August 1994, and that in industry by 17 percent, in construction by 13.5 percent, trade by 11.4 percent, and transport by 18.7 percent.

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Over the eight months of 1995, the average monthly nominal salary rose in comparison with the same period of last year by 15.8 percent in industry, 16.3 percent in construction, 12.9 percent in trade, and 18.6 percent in transport. Its level reached Sk7,173 in industry, Sk7,059 in construction, Sk5,369 in trade, and Sk7,415 in transport. The year-to-year increase in average real monthly salary represented 4.6 percent in industry, 5.1 percent in construction, 2 percent in trade organizations, and 7.1 percent in transport.

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Kovacs on NATO, Former Yugoslavia, Russia

LD2310002595 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by unidentified correspondent in Budapest; from "The Week" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is the studio guest of "The Week" tonight. Good evening, Mr. Foreign Minister. We would like to ask you primarily about the Yugoslav crisis, but it is reasonable to ask you first about a demonstration which was organized by the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] and which is just underway in front of the Hungarian Television building. They handed a 12-point petition to the chairman of Hungarian Television. The first point of the petition says that the government should resign. You will deliver a festive speech tomorrow. How does the government now assess these kind of demonstrations?

[Kovacs] This is a demonstration permitted by the authorities and in a parliamentary democracy everybody has the right to demand the government's resignation. However, what is not allowed is for anybody is to instigate overthrowing the government by force. And this is a very important matter. I am convinced that no revolution can be called against a democratically elected government, therefore, the parallel drawn is false, it can only be an anticonstitutional coup, or rebellion.

[Correspondent] Let us return to Gyula Horn's Belgrade visit. German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has said that the embargo imposed on Serbia can only be lifted after the signing of the peace treaty. Taking this statement into consideration, was not the Hungarian diplomacy's offensive—Gyula Horn's Belgrade visit—too early now?

[Kovacs] No, it was not too early. The timing is justified by two facts. One of them is that peace is within reach, for the finalization of the peace agreement is likely to take place in Washington at the end of this month, and following this, it will be signed in Paris, that is, the conclusion of a peace treaty is not far. And then, naturally, new conditions will be created for settling the relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia, and here we are not talking only about economic relations. And then the region's economic reconstruction, in which Hungary intends to take part, can start. That is to say, I think the timing, from this aspect, was certainly correct.

There is another point of view as well. Unfortunately, while peace and settlement have come within reach, there is a very dangerous element in the Yugoslav situation—this is the reintegration of eastern Slavonia into Croatia. Although we hope that this will take place peacefully, from time to time there have been statements by Croatian leaders that, if this cannot be achieved within a foreseeable time, they will resort to other means.

There was a need for Hungary to make it unambiguous both in Zagreb and Belgrade that Hungary considers exclusively a peaceful reintegration to be a solution and that, naturally, a condition for this is the guaranteeing of the rights of the Serbian minority there and, in general, the guaranteeing of minority rights, in accordance with the same norm—European norms—in the entire Yugoslav region, including the rights of the Hungarian community of Vojvodina.

[Correspondent] Yet, we have to take into consideration the possibility of a war for eastern Slavonia, in eastern Slavonia. In this case, the ethnic balance can further deteriorate in Vojvodina; Hungarians can get into an even worse situation, the Hungarian community in the Southern Region [Delvidek] can reach a fatal phase. What can Hungarian diplomacy do in a situation like this, should a military solution emerge close to our southern borders.

[Kovacs] What Hungary can do—what it has already done—is to always ensure the reinforcement and defense of borders as necessary, and to make it clear to both Belgrade and Zagreb that Hungary is impartial in this conflict and does not intend to give advantage to any of them at the expense of the other. We have an interest in making sure that neither false illusions, nor unfounded fears prevail in the two capital cities. Furthermore, as I have already noted, naturally we urge the settlement of minority issues along standard criteria in all regions of the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How strong, in your view, are the extremists in Russia and Serbia? To what extent have dreams about an empire revived, particularly in Russia? Yeltsin have been justifying his concessions to extremists with domestic political reasons. After a while, this explanation is not enough. How do you see this?

[Kovacs] Every analyst of the region stresses that the emergence of aggressive nationalism implies a serious security risk in the entire region. Fortunately, a serious chance for these forces to play a determining role in the political life of these countries cannot be seen at the moment, although we cannot entirely rule out this possibility either in one or another country. It is obvious that if these forces get into power, it will be a source of very serious international conflicts, for it is widely known that these forces consider the use of any means acceptable for achieving their own aims. This is the other reason that Hungarian foreign policy considers the

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expansion of the EU and NATO in an eastern direction to be very important. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] This week Boris Yeltsin held out the prospect of dismissing Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is too permissive in NATO issues. How serious, in your view, are these points raised by Yeltsin, this tougher tone against the expansion of NATO to the East? What can the Hungarian diplomacy do?

[Kovacs] What Hungarian diplomacy has done so far is express our views to the Russian leaders. [passage omitted] The other thing is that NATO, as it is shown by the recently published NATO study, has been slowly but steadily heading toward the expansion. [passage omitted] NATO will, sooner or later, pass its decision on which countries will get into the first circle of the expansion. I hope that Hungary will be among them.

[Correspondent] Mr. Foreign Minister, thank you for the interview.

Horn Sees 'Political Will' for Yugoslav Peace

LD2210223395 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 95

[From "The Week" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an exclusive statement given to "The Week" at the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade, Prime Minister Gyula Horn assessed his talks in the Yugoslav region [18 October in Zagreb, 20 October in Belgrade]:

[Begin Horn recording] There is a political will on the part of the sides for establishing peace, and this is the key question. All the others are only partial questions. There is a political will on the part of all sides, because the series of conflicts which is taking place there does not lead anywhere.

On the other hand, I consider it very important that domestic pressure is very great, too. This is certainly the case in rump Yugoslavia. There is pressure to create peace and settle relations with the countries of the former Yugoslavia. This is why the recognition of internationally recognized borders by Yugoslavia is so important.

The third reason for my being optimistic is that the international community is very determined. It is widely known that the international community has shown a rather hesitant, uncertain attitude for several years. This has ended. Well, there is no guarantee now, either. We cannot say that there are guarantees, but the likelihood of an agreement and peace is very great. [end recording]

Goncz Talks to CNN in New York, Meets Rabin

LD2110091595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [President] Arpad Goncz described the 1956 revolution as a symbol of striving for national unity. In his interview with CNN, the Hungarian president admitted that the current reforms demand great sacrifices from the people but, nevertheless, he believes that national unity can still be created.

Referring to the Yugoslav crisis, the president said Hungary would welcome it if the neighbors of former Yugoslavia could participate in the restoration process after the war, because they would then receive some compensation for their serious losses caused by the embargo.

Arpad Goncz, who is staying in New York to attend the UN jubilee session, met with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and urged that a free trade agreement should be signed as soon as possible.

Party Speakers Commemorate 1956 Revolution

LD2210141495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a ceremony commemorating the 1956 revolution, the importance of reconciliation has been stressed by Chairman Jenoe Fonay of the National Association of Political Prisoners. At the commemorative column in Zuglo [Budapest district], Jenoe Fonay said it does not matter who comes from where, who belongs to which party; what matters is whether he has a Hungarian heart.

At the event, Krisztina Dobos, deputy of the largest opposition party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], said that besides freedom, there is also a need for an order in which young people feel they have a future, the middle-aged people have a secure living, and the elderly do not have to worry about the peace of their old days.

At the same time, at a commemoration held by the Hungarian Intellectual Foundation and by the For the Hungarian Future Foundation, former Culture Minister Bertalan Andrasfalvy of the previous government criticized the present conditions. University professor Andrasfalvy said—we quote—today, Hungary is the land of abortion, suicide, and hopelessness, and it is regrettable that the nationally committed opposition has no power to make changes.

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'Tens of Thousands' Show

LD2210152595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Lukacs Szabo, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] has demanded the government's resignation and early elections at the organization's protest on Szabadsag Square in Budapest. Szabo also called for the suspension of debt repayments. [passage omitted]

It is estimated that at the call of MIEP, tens of thousands of people have turned up to commemorate the 1956 revolution. [passage omitted]

MIEP's Antigovernment Stance

LD2210184595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The government's resignation has been called for at the demonstration by the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP]. [passage omitted] The protest began this afternoon in Szabadsag Square, then they walked over to Kossuth Square. According to the latest news, they have returned to Szabadsag Square, from where Attila Kert reports.

[Kert] [Passage omitted] In his speech [MIEP Chairman] Istvan Csurka said if they cannot force the government to resign it will cause irrepairable damage to the country until 1998 [when its mandate runs out]. The MIEP chairman said the change of regime has not come about since the same people govern the country who did so 10 or 20 years ago. Now the dictatorship of the financial and banker oligarchy is ruling behind the mask of the constitutional state and democracy. What is more, the parliamentary opposition is collaborating on this.

Similarly to the other speakers, Csurka attacked the government parties, particularly the Alliance of Free Democrats, as well as the prime minister, the president, the world of finance, the chairman of the National Bank of Hungary, and the media. He called Hungarian Television and Radio servants of the power [the government]. He said the government is not only incompetent, but it is also pursuing deliberately anti-Hungarian policies, which are ruining the nation [nemzetvesztoe politika]. [passage omitted]

In Kossuth Square the demonstrators adopted by public acclamation 12 points laying down their demands, which they handed to television chairman Adam Horvath, demanding that these be read verbatim in television newsreels. A lot of red-white-green national flags were waved and a few had an Arpad-stripe [Hungarian fascist symbol] attached to them. The demonstrators are just coming back from Kossuth Square to the television building in Szabadsag Square.

[Announcer] Attila, how many people are there?

[Kert] It is very difficult to say as there is no official, that is, police estimate, although the police have the best overview of the event. As I saw from the edge of the crowd, there could be 40,000-60,000 of them. However, there may be more or fewer.

Petition Not Read on TV

LD2210211695 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] At an antigovernment demonstration held in Budapest today, Istvan Csurka, the chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], called for national resistance and civil disobedience. Istvan Csurka said that the government will be able to wreck an unorganized rebellion, but it is unable to cope with civil disobedience.

[Correspondent] By 1400 this afternoon several tens of thousands of people gathered at Szabadsag Square. [passage omitted] According to the MIEP chairman, the government should not be removed by revolution and force, but by a general strike.

[Begin Csurka recording] If an all-out, general, nationwide strike is the response to the approval of the 1996 budget, the Horn government will only be a caretaker government in 1996. [applause] [end recording]

[Correspondent] Istvan Csurka is of the view that civil disobedience can also be expedient.

[Begin Csurka recording] We will not allow our children to go to school, if the National Assembly approves the infamous, nasty National Curriculum that is aimed against the nation, and which is the great creation of Gabor Fodor. [cheering, whistling] [end recording]

[Correspondent] Following Istvan Csurka's speech, the crowd marched to the parliament building, where the demonstration's 12 points were read out and approved. [passage omitted] After the 12 points were read, a delegation handed the document to Hungarian Television Chairman Adam Horvath, asking him to have the petition read on Hungarian Television with regard to the crowd in front of the television headquarters.

Adam Horvath rejected the request by saying that the public service television's code of ethics adopted two and a half years ago allows the publications of party announcements only in an election period, and even in that case, in a strictly regulated framework.

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[Announcer] Then the organizers announced that the demonstration was considered to be finished. The majority of the crowd started to leave, but several hundred of them marched to the TV building demanding a patriotic Hungarian Television and that the MIEP's 12 points should be read out in full.

Another group left to go to the radio building. Our correspondent, Krisztina Antalffy, reports from the scene by phone.

[Antalffy] Good evening. The demonstrators who left the television building arrived here, at the radio building, more precisely to the crossing of Sandor Brody and Puskin streets, a few minutes ago, this is why we cannot provide pictures about what is happening here. It is difficult from here, from the radio building, to estimate the number of those present, because the cordon is several tens of meters away from the building, and we journalists are not allowed to approach it. The noise we can hear is rather loud. Police alert is high around the radio building. According to our information, the demonstrators intend to hand their petition to the heads of Hungarian Radio. Back to the studio.

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Cease-Fire Implementation Activities Noted
Army Reports Violations

AU2310161495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our Army units on all fronts throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina observed the cease-fire agreement and complied with orders regarding the suspension of offensive combat operations. At the same time, on several fronts, the aggressor violated the cease-fire. On the Posavina front, the aggressor occasionally fired from small arms from his positions in the broader region of Lipovac and Liporasce; the Chetniks also fired from small arms at our defenses in the broader region of Mujanov Mezar on the Doboj and the broader region of Celic on the Mt. Majevica front. Our units observed the cease-fire and did not respond to these provocations.

Enemy transport helicopters overflew the Posavina corridor 18 times flying from east to west, and 13 times in the opposite direction. On the Zvornik front, the enemy fired from small arms along the entire front line. More serious Chetnik cease-fire violations were reported when the Chetniks fired mortars at civilian targets in Sapna. Except for minor material damage, there were no other consequences. The intensity of enemy small-arms provocations has abated somewhat; in any case, our defenders are carefully monitoring all of the enemies' activities and are ready to respond to all possible attacks, the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has reported.

Prisoners Exchanged

AU2110150695 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 21 (AFP)—A noted pro-Bosnian Serb held for three years and two Turkish reporters were among 20 prisoners traded Saturday [21 October] as part of a ceasefire pact, an AFP correspondent on the scene said.

Munir Acim, a reporter for the mass circulation daily HURRIYET, and Ali Kocak, from the ANATOLIA news agency, were picked up by Bosnian Serbs on October 7 at a checkpoint outside of Sarajevo.

They were released Saturday along with nine other people, including pro-Bosnian Serb politician and writer named Vladimir Srebrov.

Srebrov was a founder of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) party but was ousted when Radovan Karadzic, now the head of the rebel Serbs, took it over and turned it into a nationalist party.

Srebrov broke with the party and remained in Sarajevo when war broke out. He was detained in late 1992 and beaten by the Serbs when he went to a Serb-held section of Sarajevo for negotiations.

A doctor and driver for the humanitarian group Agency Al Haramain had been expected to be among those released, along with a Croatian employee of Caritas, another humanitarian group.

This could not be immediately confirmed.

In exchange, the Bosnian government released 10 Serbs it was holding.

No information was immediately available on the identities of the Serbs or why they are being held.

The release is part of a US-brokered ceasefire reached this month which went into effect on October 13.

Monitoring Commissions Planned

AU2110164095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Several meetings of the central joint commission have been held at Sarajevo airport for several days. To help implementation of the cease-fire agreement on the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts, dating from 5 October, the participants [words indistinct] UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mediation have set out to create joint commissions that would function as executive bodies for the realization of the agreed cease-fire.

The joint commissions are organized at the central and regional levels. Taking part in the work of the Central Joint Commission are (?heads) of staffs of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Defense Council, and the aggressor, as well as the UNPROFOR chief of staff. Decisions made at the meetings of the Central Joint Commission are guiding and compulsory for the regional joint commissions that are at a lower level and are in charge of implementing these decisions in the field.

Regional joint commissions have been organized at the level of UNPROFOR sectors, corps commands, and military districts. As has been agreed by the Central Joint Commission, the work on implementing the cease-fire will consist of two stages, establishing the line of separation and monitoring the cease-fire. To realize the first stage, it has been agreed to provide maps with the positions of all forces marked, and then the disputed regions will be identified and corresponding instructions issued.

The regional joint commissions that will determine how to establish separation lines, will develop plans for establishing [word indistinct] supervision and monitoring the cease-fire in the field, it is said in the [word

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indistinct] of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Izetbegovic Sets Out Negotiating Platform

AU2010212195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Executive Committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] is holding a session in Fojnica, at which it is discussing the military and political situation in the country, the progress in the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and certain reshuffles in the party.

Two areas have been discussed within the debate on the military and political situation in the country: the current peace negotiations, with an emphasis on the next stage in the United States, and the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Alija Izetbegovic, chairman of the SDA and president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, delivered the opening address. He presented the members of the Executive Committee with 20 points of proposals to be discussed and endorsed, which would give our negotiating team a negotiating platform.

We believe that we have reached the point at which the war can be stopped and the rest of the way to a sovereign and united state can be reached through political means. The coming peace negotiations will be a test of whether our expectations are justified, Izetbegovic said. The integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is guaranteed by the joint institutions and functions of state. These institutions include a parliament, a presidency, a government, a constitutional court, and a central bank. The joint functions of state are foreign affairs, defense, protection of human rights and freedoms, citizenship, the protection of external borders, communications, currency, customs, and foreign trade, and the budget and financing at the state level. The Serb side will do all it can to reduce the joint functions, President Izetbegovic said, while our interest is of course quite the opposite, he added.

Considering the parity in the joint bodies, one of the problems might be the possibility of blocking the functioning of the joint bodies with a veto. We need a state that can function, so we cannot allow the repetition of the situation just before the war when, owing to the practice of consensus, not a single important decision could be made, Izetbegovic recalled.

President Izetbegovic also reminded the committee of the poor functioning of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is of vital interest to the Bosniak people and presented the main problems that have been occurring in its implementation, from the formation of the joint police and return of the refugees to the obstructions to the freedom of movement in many areas in the country.

Speaking about the Contact Group maps, President Izetbegovic said that they are valid if an agreement on certain changes is not reached. We will not give up Gorazde and Brcko and we have told the U.S. mediators this time and time again, Izetbegovic stressed. He also said that there were several options open for Sarajevo, but that all the options were based on the concept of an undivided city.

If a peace agreement is reached, the agreement can be implemented only with the help of international forces. This cannot be the UN Protection Force. It can only be NATO, with the possible participation of forces from other friendly countries. If Russia offers its soldiers, their number should be balanced out with the number of soldiers from Islamic countries, he added. They should be deployed in garrisons throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their deployment only along the separation line is unacceptable to us. These forces cannot obstruct the defense efforts of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and can stay in the country for one year unless the Presidency asks for an extension of their stay.

The peacekeeping forces of the Republic of Croatia can stay on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina 30 days at most following the signing of the peace agreement and any longer than that only at the request of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Izetbegovic suggested.

The economic aid to the countries from the territory of the former Yugoslavia should be conditioned strictly by the observance of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina by neighboring countries, respect for human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities, and the respect of the right of the refugees to return home.

The chance of democratic elections should not be missed. These elections must be by popular vote after the minimum guarantees have been secured for the return of the majority of the refugees to their prewar places of residence. The elections must be held under international control and with the presence of the international military force for the implementation of peace. The people suspected by the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague of being war criminals may not run in the elections, President Izetbegovic added.

Serbia and Croatia should be made to state solemnly that they have no territorial aspirations toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and that they will not encourage separatist

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and secessionist tendencies in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The admission of these countries into international institutions, particularly the World Bank, the EU, the IMF, and the Partnership for Peace program should be dependent on their policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and they should be told this explicitly, President Izetbegovic proposed in his opening address. It would also be useful to enable Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to be accepted soon and simultaneously into the Partnership for Peace program. This would have a positive effect on relations between the two countries and stability in the region.

President Izetbegovic stressed that, if a peace is signed, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has to be trained and armed to defend the country against any possible aggression. This implies the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, he said.

If we cannot achieve our just demands through negotiations, we always have the military option available, Izetbegovic concluded.

Problem of Ethnic Croat Participation in Election

LD2110222995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just from received from BH-PRESS a statement from the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have issued a statement in response to the upcoming election for the Chamber of Deputies of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, at which the Croat citizens in the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina should vote. The statement reads:

The embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Sarajevo sent a diplomatic note to the Foreign Ministry of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, requesting permission for election to be held at which the Croat citizens in the free territory of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina could vote. Considering that the request referred to the citizens of the Republic of Croatia who would be living in the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as foreigners at the time of the election, the Foreign Ministry responded positively to this request, after having consulted the Interior Ministry of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Following newspaper reports that the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Croat nationality should also vote in this election, the Foreign Ministry requested an explanation from the embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Sarajevo. The explanation provided states that the embassy is planning to organize the election enabling all the Croats with Bosnia-Herzegovina nationality to take a vote if they hold the citizenship of the Republic of Croatia, too. The vote will be cast for a single list [of candidates] for all Croats in the diaspora.

In response to that, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the government have expressed their disapproval of this action and the attitude the Republic of Croatia has taken to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. First of all, the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have the status of a constituent nation, so they cannot be considered to be Croats in diaspora, because the diaspora consists of minority communities of one nation in a foreign country. Furthermore, the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina who have dual nationality can on no basis be considered as foreigners in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and as long as they are on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the domestic law is applied to them in all issues. This principle is valid in all countries, and the Republic of Croatia itself applies this principle in its own territory.

At the time when, in the framework of the peace process, the international community is offering full support to the preservation of the territorial integrity and existence of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an international entity, such an action could have very negative political repercussions. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina stress that the permission granted in the note issued by the Foreign Ministry of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina refers only to the citizens of the Republic of Croatia who have the status of foreign citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is said in the conclusion of the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Herzeg-Bosna Officials on Ticket

LD2110110895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 21 (TANJUG)—The inclusion of some top officials of the Bosnian Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia on the ticket for parliamentary elections in the Republic of Croatia means that the government in Zagreb has practically annexed a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muslim Sarajevo radio said Saturday.

The radio said that Herzeg-Bosnia's Defense Minister Vladimir Soljic, Army commander Ivo Lozancic and head of the Tomislav (formerly Duvno) municipality Mijo Tokic were on the ticket of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)

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for the election of Croatian parliament's lower house members on Oct. 29 this year.

Muslim radio insisted that the move constituted a violation of Bosnia-Herzegovina's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Croatian radio reported, at the same time, that 31 polling stations would be open in Herzeg-Bosnia on the day of the elections.

Croat Party of Right Protests

AU2010194695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian Party of Right of Bosnia-Herzegovina considers dual citizenship for the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia useful and desirable, as it strengthens the links between these two states. However, regarding elections, the Croatian Party of Right is of the opinion that citizens with dual citizenship should elect deputies only for the country in which they permanently reside and to whose decisions they will be subject. Therefore, the Croatian Party of Right calls upon the citizens of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina with dual citizenship and with permanent residence in Bosnia-Herzegovina not to take part in the elections for the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, according to a public statement by the party.

The Croatian Party of Right of Bosnia-Herzegovina considers the electoral law of the Republic of Croatia, according to which the citizens of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with dual citizenship can elect and send deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, to be inappropriate and contrary to the rule law of both the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These deputies are to pass laws and decisions to which neither they nor their voters will be subject because they permanently reside in another state and are [word indistinct] to that state's laws.

The right of the Croats to free and democratic development that has been threatened for decades by various (?dictatorships) can be fulfilled only within the unified state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, set up as civic state on the basis of the rule of law with full respect for human and civil rights. Therefore, the centuries-long struggle for freedom should be directed toward the entirety and democratic setup of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its confederal linking with the Republic of Croatia—so reads the public statement by the Croatian Party of Right of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Governor on Ethnic Croat Role in Zenica Canton

AU2210162395 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 95 p 5

[Interview with Bedrudin Salcinovic, governor of the Zenica-Doboj Canton, by Almir Sestic; place and date not given: "HDZ Has Accepted the Decisions of the Arbiter for Teslic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sestic] The Zenica-Doboj Canton has virtually been set up. How would you assess its work thus far?

[Salcinovic] The first constituent session, which was held on 20 September, elected the leading people of the canton, the president of the canton and the chairman of the cantonal assembly, and created conditions for holding the next session.

[Sestic] How do you comment on the absence of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] representatives?

[Salcinovic] You are one of the rare ones who has asked me the question about the HDZ in the correct way. It is correct that one should ask about the absence of HDZ and not of the Croats, since the Croats were present at the assembly session. They are present in the SDP [Social Democratic Party], UBSD [Union of Social-Democrats of Bosnia-Herzegovina], the Liberals, and they were present in the assembly. It is the HDZ representatives, however, that did not come, and we are not happy about that. We will do everything we can so that these representatives turn up at the next session.

Districts Will Be Abolished

[Sestic] What else is to be done?

[Salcinovic] I must say that the canton is still unable to function as we have set up only the assembly. The canton cannot function until the cantonal government has been elected.

[Sestic] In light of that fact, can you tell us what the fate of districts as the organizational form of authority is going to be and whether they still exist?

[Salcinovic] According to the war plans, districts are republican institutions of power. They have been formed under war conditions, and they will gradually disappear with the setting up of the canton and its functions. We have four districts on the territory of the canton, and therefore we have launched an initiative so that the area covered by the districts will coincide with the area of the canton.

[Sestic] What are your plans for the next assembly session?

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[Salcinovic] We will adopt several laws. I am primarily referring to the laws on the government and the seal, and the law on a cantonal paper. We will try to create such a political climate so that everyone will attend the next session. We consider it very important that all the representatives express their views on the model of the cantonal government.

[Sestic] Can you tell us what the current situation in Teslic is?

[Salcinovic] At the meeting that was held the other day in Zenica, and which was attended by an international OG-4 [expansion unknown] group, we discussed the problem of Teslic and Vares. A transitional municipal council has not been set up in only two municipalities. In Teslic, it was set up unilaterally, only with the participation of Bosniaks and other parties, without the HDZ. However, according to the arbiter's decision, we have adopted the method of setting up the transitional municipal council in Teslic. At its last session, the HDZ accepted the SDA proposal for Teslic as correct.

Gentle Turnabout

[Sestic] What about Vares?

[Salcinovic] The problem of Vares is still open. As known, it is the SDP that won there. Our view, and we have presented it in writing to the arbiter and have accepted his decision, is that the SDP should appoint the head of the municipality in Vares. According to the same decision, the HDZ will appoint the chairman of the municipal council. At the aforementioned meeting with the OG-4 group, it was decided that the parties in Vares should get in contact with the arbiter and present their proposals in writing. This should be done by 20 October.

[Sestic] In your opinion, is the HDZ in any way obstructing the process of setting up the canton?

[Salcinovic] This is prejudging things a bit. I would not want to talk of obstruction. Simply, the HDZ does not agree with some things and principles. I am referring to Vares. In my opinion, they are already changing some of their views. Specifically, they have changed their views and accepted the decision of the arbiter in Teslic and I hope that they will make a gentle turnabout in that respect in Vares.

[Box, p 5]

We Do Not Have An Alternative

[Sestic] Do you believe the Federation will begin to function fully in the near future?

[Salcinovic] I am convinced that we do not have an alternative. We have been promoting this project for a year and half since the adoption of the Constitution. We here are firmly committed to the Federation and I am convinced that it will begin to function.

[Box, p 5]

[Sestic] When could the Zenica-Doboj Canton really begin to function?

[Salcinovic] A canton is a segment of the Federation. It is generally known that the Federation is not functioning fully, although the top state organs are trying to create a climate for it to begin to function. The functioning of the cantons directly depends on that.

Government Asks Croatia To Extradite Abdic

AU2010180495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Justice of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina today issued a demand for extradition of Fikret Abdic via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the appropriate ministry of the Republic of Croatia. As BHPRESS has learned, the extradition is being asked for on the basis of the process being carried out before the Bihac District Court due to the war crime against civilian population from Article 142, war crime against war prisoners from Article 144, and the war crime of destroying cultural and historical monuments from Article 151 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Abdic's Ties to Italians

BR1910143095 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 19 Oct 95 p 9

[Article by Maurizio Chierici: "Italian Lead in Bosnian Mystery"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to the latest rumors, the wife and chauffeur of the small father of defeated Krajina [Fikret Abdic] have been killed. Nobody has seen their corpses. His son has apparently disappeared too. Who killed them? The Croats are talking about former loyal supporters disillusioned by their abandonment and disastrous military defeat. There are some more devious theories. I assume they are pure fantasy. Fikret Abdic is not only the president in exile of a self-proclaimed republic, he is also a businessman, owner of the Agricomerc chain which used to distribute farm produce almost throughout Yugoslavia. In other words, he has not been left penniless. He could be safe in a villa in Pula. He has apparently been joined by his wife and son. According to another

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account, the Abdic family flew to Costa Rica with the help of Italian friends. And here the tragedy turns into a farce. The man who betrayed the Bosnians for the sake of an embrace between his militia and the enemy supposedly made a surprising choice when he appointed his secretary of state for foreign affairs: Walter Martini, owner of a freight firm from Livorno. Martini is alleged to have visited a large villa belonging to Andrea Merlotti, an underwriter with Assitalia, a chartered surveyor with a background in imports and exports. He is a member of Forza Italia's Foreign Affairs Commission and a deputy for Mantua. "It may have been those friends that found refuge for him in Central America, where many Italians live..." This is merely Zagreb being malicious.

Forza Italia Official: "He Was Free, He Did not Run Away; He Has More Tricks Up His Sleeve"

Forza Italia Deputy Andrea Merlotti has met with Abdic. This is what he had to say about the mystery:

[Chierici] Do you think that the rumors from Zagreb have any foundation? Could Martini, Abdic's Italian "foreign minister," have friends in Costa Rica?

[Merlotti] Martini is involved in transport and has always had dealings with organizations abroad. I cannot rule it out, but I consider it unlikely, partly from a political viewpoint. Abdic could be an important factor in Bosnia's future order. A moderate Muslim, with much business experience, is capable of winning support from the Croats, which would be much more difficult for the fundamentalists in Sarajevo. Why should he leave?

[Chierici] You mentioned fundamentalism: Have you been to Sarajevo?

[Merlotti] Never. I only spent four days in Zagreb. I met with Abdic there. In a hotel. It was said that he was a prisoner. But he was absolutely free.

Turkish Daily Interviews Ganic on Federation

NC2310083995 Istanbul ZAMAN in Turkish 17 Oct 95 p 5

[Exclusive interview with Ejup Ganic, vice president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by ZAMAN correspondent Mehmet Kocak in Frankfurt; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kocak] Mr. Ganic, can you comment on what happened after your serious traffic accident? Were you able to follow the developments while you were in the hospital?

[Ganic] Thank you. I want to take this opportunity to convey my best wishes to the Turkish people. Yes, I was involved in a serious accident. Thank God I have fully recovered. I thank God for returning me to my duties in good health. Ten countries officially informed us that they would cover all the expenses. I am touched by their kindness. [Austrian] Prime Minister Mock [title as published] closely followed my condition. Many heads of state and government leaders either called or sent telegrams to me while I recovered in the hospital. I thank them for their concern.

I closely followed all the developments in my country as soon as I regained consciousness. I painfully followed the acts of genocide in Tuzla and Srebrenica. I also followed the acts of genocide that were committed by the Serbian chetniks. I was suffering not because of my injuries, but because of the cries of tens of thousands of my brothers tortured and killed in Srebrenica. I will never forget the suffering the Serbs have inflicted on the hungry and defenseless people in Srebrenica during the past four years.

[Kocak] Will the Muslims and the Croats be able to establish a federation?

[Ganic] Our country will not be divided. We have to establish a federation, regardless of the obstacles and problems. We are continuing our talks with Zubak and the other officials. However, our effort has been impeded by the activities of several fanatical Croatian groups. Nevertheless, the leading military and political officials of both sides have intervened to resolve the problems as they occur. We are pleased that we are not fighting against each other. Our joint military units are gradually liberating our occupied territories. This shows that we have to establish and maintain a federation.

The Serbs can join the federation. However, we will not hold talks with Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic. They represent the criminal chetniks, not the Serbs. We are talking with Lazovic, Peyanovic, and Jujiceva. They have agreed to coexist with us. In short, we will not shake the hands of Karadzic and Mladic. They have been stained by our people's blood.

[Kocak] Karadzic has recently claimed that the Bosnian and Croatian military units have committed massacres. Can you comment on his allegations?

[Ganic] That is definitely untrue. The Bosnian military forces never commit atrocities. Our military forces are fighting to prevent acts of genocide. We have disclosed several times that we want to coexist with the Serbs and the Croats. We are cooperating with the Croats on that. Meanwhile, we have urged the Serbs to join us. Hundreds of thousands of Serbian people live in security in Sarajevo and the other cities that are currently under our control. We have a Croatian vice president and a Serbian deputy chief of staff. We agree to coexist with the Serbs, but not with the chetniks.

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Serb Civic Council Advocates Multiethnic State

AU2010183895 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 20 Oct 95

[Report by Helmut Oppletal, including statements by Mirko Pejanovic and Tatjana Ljuic-Mijatovic, members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and leaders of the SGV; statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Oppletal] A delegation of the Serbian Civic Council for Bosnia-Herzegovina [SGV] is currently visiting Vienna. This is an organization of more than 150,000 Serbs who are still living in Sarajevo and other areas controlled by the Bosnian Government. The SGV received the Alternative Nobel Peace Prize this year. Chairman Mirko Pejanovic is also a member of the Bosnian State Presidency and one of the deputies of Alija Izetbegovic. He explained the position of his organization on the present peace efforts in Vienna today.

The SGV advocates a political solution that makes possible the coexistence of the different ethnic groups on the basis of equal rights in a federal state within the original borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, Mirko Pejanovic believes that the international community should also try to ensure a few preconditions to achieve this.

[Pejanovic] These preconditions include an undivided Sarajevo, where Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, and Jews still live together, in spite of the tragedy. Sarajevo will be the bud of tolerance for a future peace. Further preconditions are the return of all refugees and international support for the democratic forces among the Serb people, including the SGV in Sarajevo, but also democratic and independent groups and delegates in Banja Luka and other towns controlled by the Pale regime.

[Oppletal] Thus, Pejanovic does not believe that Karadzic and his regime should represent the Bosnian Serbs in the peace talks and demands that the Serbs not be held responsible for the war as a people. On some points, the SGV holds views quite independent of those of Izetbegovic's government. Thus, it is skeptical of the planned future confederation with Croatia. In addition, it is critical of all plans for the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as Tatjana Ljuic-Mijatovic, the Bosnian envoy to the international organizations in Vienna and a member of the SGV and the State Presidency in Sarajevo, explains:

[Ljuic-Mijatovic] This is my personal view, which is not necessarily shared by many others. But I do not believe that the U.S. Administration should have proceeded from the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina in its peace initiative, but rather from the internationally recognized borders of the state. This has now become more difficult but will still be possible if the central authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina are vested with strong power and if the Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats cooperate.

SDA Proposes 'Partial' Army Demobilization

LD2110183695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The office of the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency today received a proposal put forward by the executive committee of the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka demokratske akcije; SDA] to urgently review the possibility of partial demobilization of members of the army.

The proposal refers to the demobilization of members of the army over the age of 45. The aim is to provide cadres and workers to revive the economy and other civil services.

The SDA proposal will be submitted to the presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina under urgent procedure.

Special Units From Serbia Reported in Banja Luka

AU2010190995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by D. Petrovic, N. Todorovic: "Serb Republic Cannot Exist If People Leave"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—Banja Luka is still under the regime of curfew (from 2300 to 0500), general prohibition, as well as ban on work of restaurants and bars. The city is completely blacked out in the evening, passersby become very rare after 2000, while during the day there is an illusion of life in the streets. We do not notice any military convoys in the center, which could be expected considering the proximity of the front. Occasionally a truck passes through the center carrying soldiers who are most often singing. It resembles scenes from American films on the topic of the Vietnam war. However, "the lack" of the military is more than compensated by the police. The impression is that Banja Luka is in a "police cordon." All the most important points have been taken up by the police, one part of which are special units of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs brought from Pec and Pristina. During the last month, since they have been present in the region—as we were told yesterday by some of the members of the Kosovo special units—they have managed to send back to the front from Banja Luka about 5,000 soldiers of the Serb Republic Army, who had earlier "fled from the front."

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We were also told by the members of these special units that the city of Banja Luka was mostly quiet. However, they said that this could be deceptive since "in the suburbs, some two to three kilometers from the center, the people were confused, frightened, and ready to flee," since the Croatian units were 25 kilometers from Banja Luka at the Bocac hydroelectric power station on the Vrbas. One member of the state security of the Serb Republic, as he introduced himself in the presidency building where we met, said that "the Croats would be quiet until spring."

The people of Banja Luka do not share that view, and their fear is palpable. In order "to keep and stabilize" the defense lines, it was decided at the regular session of the Serb Republic Assembly that the forces of Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan should be placed directly behind the positions of the Serb Republic Army along the front line "to prevent desertion and fleeing." The headquarters of Arkan's forces are currently in Prijedor, and we also noticed a few officials of the Party of Serbian Unity [Arkan's party] in Hotel Bosna in Banja Luka.

As we have found out from reliable sources, another person is also in Banja Luka: That is Franko Simatovic, nicknamed Frenki, chief of the second direction of the state security service of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with his "red berets" (special units of the state security service of Serbia). We have learned from some local officials that the "onslaughts" so far by the Croatian-Muslim forces are part of "Tudjman's operation," which they call "Drina 95."

One can also hear that a decision was made at the last session of the Serb Republic Assembly that only nondraft age refugees will be allowed to leave for the FRY. They also have to have guarantees from relatives and friends in Serbia that they will provide them with accommodation.

"The Serb Republic cannot exist if the people leave," says Dragan Kalinic, health minister in the Serb Republic, adding that it is possible that several hundred thousand homeless people could start heading across the Drina, "which could result in interethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia." The best illustration of Banja Luka these days are the endless obituaries stuck to the trees and street posts along the main street of Banja Luka. They are all "dated" to September and October of this year.

Sandzak Muslims: Serbia Supplying Troops, Arms

LD2110151295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement for the public, the Muslim National Council of Sandzak claims that the transport of the army and military equipment from Serbia and Montenegro to the territory of the internationally-recognized Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has continued with undiminished intensity.

On 16 October, at 0015 [2315 GMT 15 October], a large number of vehicles carrying mortar launchers crossed the Bosnia-Herzegovina border near Priboj. The transport of people and military technology is conducted daily via illegal crossings. For instance, a coach with [word indistinct] registration plates, carrying members of the Serbian Volunteers' Guard on 18 October this year, crossed over to Bosnia-Herzegovina at an illegal border crossing near [word indistinct].

Similar crossings into Bosnia-Herzegovina have been registered in the Plevlja district and [words indistinct], it is said in the public statement of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

RS Assembly Discusses Peace Talks, Elects PM

Buha Lists Negotiation Points

AU2310152695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by Miroslav Gligorevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] At last night's session, the foreign minister of the Serb Republic [RS], Dr. Aleksa Buha, presented the joint platform to the Assembly representatives. Miroslav Gligorevic has a report.

[Gligorevic] From the component of the platform regarding the constitutional agreement, eight items were emphasized:

- The RS and the Bosniak-Croat federation will form a union [unija], the only alternative to which can be a confederation [savez drzava];
- The equality of the state entities within the union;
- Joint bodies will be formed on the basis of the parity of the union members;
- Foreign politics is within the competence of the union;
- The legislation of the union members will secure free democratic elections;
- The RS will have the right to form confederal relations with the FRY;
- Each member will, a year after the agreement is concluded, be able to organize a referendum on its territory on whether they want to remain within the union or not;
- The multinational peacekeeping forces in the union may be deployed on the territory of the RS only on the basis of agreement with the Assembly.

Territorial priorities were also presented: the compactness of the territory of the RS; [word indistinct] border

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on the Sava River, and the width of the territory connecting the western and eastern parts of the RS to be 20 km; the area at the foot of Mount Grmec and Mount Kozara, starting from the Una River; territorial connections between Serb Sarajevo and the territory of the RS; access to the sea; and the border on the Neretva River.

Deputies Select Delegation

LD2310151795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijeljina, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Serb Republic assembly selected at the session in Bijeljina today the Serb Republic's delegation for the peace talks to be held on 31 October in the United States. The delegation will consist of Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic, Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik, and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha.

The Serb Republic delegation will in fact be part of the six-member delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which will be headed at the talks in the United States by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

It has been decided that the Serb Republic delegation will be accompanied in the United States by a team of experts including former Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic, Professor Radomir Lukic, Gaso Mijanovic, and presidential spokesman Jovan Zametica. [passage omitted]

Foreign Troops Talks Approved

LD2310152495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijeljina, 22 Oct (SRNA)—This evening [22 october] the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, meeting in Bijeljina, gave its approval for contacts between representatives of the Serb Republic armed forces the supreme command and the main headquarters, and representatives of other countries, to discuss and resolve the issue of the deployment of multinational forces in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

The Serb Republic parliament is prepared to allow the stationing of soldiers from Russia, Ukraine, and other friendly countries near the border between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation in order to keep peace and implement the peace agreement in the duration of a given deadline.

The [Bosnian] Serb parliament will pass the final decision on the stationing of foreign armed forces at a forthcoming session, after the proposal on their deployment is coordinated with the other side. [passage omitted]

Deployment on Demarcation Lines

LD2310112595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijeljina, 23 Oct (SRNA)—The Serb Republic assembly is today expected to approve a joint platform for the forthcoming peace talks in Dayton and discuss President Radovan Karadzic's proposal for new prime minister.

The Serb Republic assembly late last night accepted a modified proposal from the main headquarters of the Serb Republic army seeking approval for talks between members of the Serb Republic army's supreme command and representatives of the Russian Federation and "other friendly countries" on the stationing of multinational forces in Bosnia.

These forces will be deployed along the demarcation lines with the Croat-Muslim federation within the deadline which will be set at the forthcoming talks in Dayton.

The assembly approved the decision after hearing a statement of the Serb Republic army's main HQ, read out by Lieutenant Colonel General Manojlo Milovanovic. The statement warned that the negotiations between NATO and the Russian Federation had reached the final phase, and that the final decision would be made in Washington today.

Under the separation plan, the demarcation line should cover four plus one kilometers on either side of the line, or a total of 10 kilometers of buffer zone, where around 80,000 soldiers will be stationed. [Passage omitted]

Kasagic Elected Prime Minister

LD2310150495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 23 Oct (SRNA)—At the parliament session in Bijeljina today, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic proposed Rajko Kasagic as prime minister-designate, and parliament accepted his proposal.

Kasagic has been chairman of the Banja Luka Municipal Assembly Executive Committee. [passage indistinct]

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RS Officials Comment on Talks With Milosevic

Karadzic: Clear Response Needed

LD2110161595 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS] President Radovan Karadzic said yesterday that a Serb Republic delegation met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic because of the need to establish clearly if Serbia stands behind the Serb Republic, or not. We wanted a clear response to the question of whether we are together or not, and whether we are moving toward Serb Republic independence and its closer links with Serbia, Karadzic said on [Bosnian] Serb Television.

According to the Serb Republic president, the talks addressed the issue of lifting the blockade on the Drina River, as well as a shared platform and the resumption of peace talks on former Bosnia.

Although we will go to the talks in Ohio, our fighters must not believe the enemies, because they are getting ready to resume the war, Karadzic said. His message for the army was to be alert and not to allow themselves to be taken by surprise.

At the next round of talks, the joint Serb negotiating delegation will demand that the Serb Republic be given back the temporarily occupied territories of Sanski Most and parts of the so-called High Krajina [Visoka Krajina], Karadzic said in conclusion.

Krajisnik: Respect for Goals

LD2010230295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 20 Oct (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic's People's Assembly, said this evening that the Bosnian Serb Republic delegation had "constructive talks" with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic about the shared platform for the resumption of the talks on former Bosnia.

"The Serbian president assured us that the joint delegation would respect our strategic goals, and that at the next round of negotiations, it would advocate that the Serb Republic should be given a wide corridor, ethnic territories lost in the recent Croat-Muslim offensive, as well as access to the sea, Serb Sarajevo and compact territory," Krajisnik said.

As a guest on the Serb television news, Krajisnik said that Milosevic, who was accompanied at the meeting yesterday by Zoran Lilic and Milan Milutinovic, president and foreign minister of FRY, and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, had denied the existence of any maps dividing former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The final map dividing former Bosnia will be agreed at the next round of negotiations in the United States," Krajisnik said and noted that, in line with the conclusions of the meeting yesterday, the Serb Republic People's Assembly would agree on the outline of the shared negotiating platform at the session in Bijeljina.

"After that there will be more meetings with President Milosevic and contacts between experts from the Serb Republic and the FRY in order to find the best negotiating platform," Krajisnik explained. Krajisnik declined to disclose the venue of the meeting, which was also attended by some Serb Republic parliament deputies.

Milanovic: No Details on Maps

LD2310100595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 22 Oct (SRNA)—Milovan Milanovic, deputy president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic People's Assembly, stressed in his report submitted at the assembly session in Bijeljina this evening [22 October] that the Serb Republic delegation and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic did not discuss details of the maps for the division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina at their meeting on 19 October.

According to Milanovic, the Serbian president believes that "the occupation of Serb Republic towns and areas by the Croat-Muslim coalition cannot be accepted after the signing of the cease-fire agreement on 8 October."

"At the next round of peace talks, Milosevic will urge the return of the occupied territories to the Serb Republic. He will also insist that the de facto situation on the ground not be accepted, that a broad corridor be established between the eastern and western parts of the Serb Republic, and that clear borders be drawn between the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation," Milanovic said.

According to him, Milosevic will also request that the problem of Sarajevo be clarified and that the issue of the Serb Republic's access to the sea be solved.

President Milosevic affirms that the Serb side is observing the cease-fire.

At the end of his report, Milanovic stressed that the Serbian president is very familiar with the situation in the Serb Republic and the stances of its assembly.

After the report on the talks between the Serb Republic's delegation and the Serbian president, submitted by the deputy speaker of the Serb Republic parliament, the session continued with a debate of the issue.

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RS Delegates Coordinate Positions With Milosevic

AU2110193695 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The delegation of the Serb Republic [RS] met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade yesterday to coordinate the positions for the peace process.

In a short statement to SRNA, RS Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik announced that the delegation members will inform the assembly representatives of the details of the talks on Sunday, 22 October, at an assembly session in Bijeljina.

At the 54th session in Banja Luka, the assembly decided that, for the purposes of coordinating the positions for the peace conference, of the defense of the republic, and of accommodation of refugees, it will send a delegation to Belgrade to inform the Serbian president of the current situation in the Serb Republic. The President of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, announced two days ago that the state delegation and President Milosevic will set the minimums, below which nothing will be acceptable, since, as he emphasized, after the aggression of Croatia and NATO, the new factual situation on the ground is unacceptable. At the news conference in Banja Luka, Dr. Karadzic stated that the aim of the talks in Belgrade is to create a joint position in view of the upcoming conference in the United States on 30 October.

Milosevic Urged To Say Joining Serbia Possible

LD2010173795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 20 Oct (SRNA)—The Patriotic Front of [Bosnian Serb] Krajina today requested of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that he "speak out publicly and say that the [Bosnian] Serb Republic is a state that has prospects of uniting with Serbia and Yugoslavia."

"In this way, you will justify the awakening of Serbdom which you initiated several years ago. If you do not do anything, we Serbs from the remaining parts of the Serb Republic can only conclude that you have changed you mind, and that you have abandoned us and even betrayed us," says the letter from this organization which was formed a few days ago in Banja Luka.

The Patriotic Front warns Milosevic that "western Serb lands are not only under threat but are disintegrating" in the face of Croat-Muslim forces which "are receiving military, political, and economic support from the West and NATO."

"We have not succeeded in bringing our influence to bear so that the necessary changes in the military and state-political leadership of the Serb Republic are carried out. Our main problems are still disorganization and the people's and army's lack of confidence in the leadership," the letter says.

The Patriotic Front requests of Milosevic, "as the most powerful person in Serbia and Yugoslavia" and the person "who has the trust of the West and of the leaders of all the Serb lands," that he bring his influence to bear on the officers "who have very close links with Serbia and Yugoslavia so that they might reorganize the army and come to the front lines at the head of this army."

Milosevic is also requested to "protect the Serb people with all the military means at his direct disposal" and with officers under his control.

The Patriotic Front also requests that the "borders be specified" which the Serb Republic Army should defend, and that this should be "made public to the people so that crazy killing for land that will possibly be lost during the peace process is avoided."

The Patriotic Front today also issued a statement in which it says that "it is continuing its activities which lead to the strengthening of the Banja Luka defense front lines."

This statement says that the Patriotic Front has requested meetings with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, and General Ratko Mladic.

Koljevic on Negotiations, Dismissal of Generals

LD2210153695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 22 Oct (SRNA)—The vice president of the Serb Republic, Nikola Koljevic, said today that Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic's latest conditions for signing a peace agreement "are a real time bomb in the peace process" and that this is blackmail.

Koljevic said in the "Sign of Times" program on Kragujevac radio that the peace process in Bosnia is making progress and that the cease-fire has been implemented in practice. It is, therefore, unacceptable that the Muslim government in Sarajevo is demanding something that exceeds what has been agreed on and prejudices solutions.

He made it clear that the demands cannot be accepted for strengthening central bodies, introducing a government and a central bank, raising the question of borders and their defense, and calling elections in Bosnia as a whole rather than entities.

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"The time bomb has been also planted under U.S. negotiator Holbrooke and the entire U.S. initiative, not just under the other sides to the conflict. I believe that the international community, Holbrooke in particular, will summon up enough determination and common sense and rule this platform out as a precondition for negotiations."

Commenting on the decision of the Assembly of the Serb Republic to pension off four generals, Koljevic said that "people are looking for those responsible for what happened militarily in Bosnian Krajina because someone had to be held accountable in the line of subordination."

"I am not sure whether this was sent to the right addresses, but in any case these changes are significant."

The vice president of the Serb Republic maintains that the most important thing is to review responsibility at lower levels because—as he said—it is not generals who retreat with their units; it is precisely they who should find out who among their subordinates was responsible.

"It is important that General Mladic remains as the most authoritative personality in the position of commander, and I believe that this problem will be resolved soon," Koljevic told Kragujevac radio.

Dismissed General Attends Local Mini-Truce Talks

AU2010213395 Paris AFP in English 2120 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Ostra Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb military officers and their Bosnian Government adversaries reached a regional mini-truce on Friday [20 October] near Sanski Most in western Bosnia, a Serb official announced. [passage omitted]

The head of the Serb delegation, Colonel Marinko Gajic, pronounced his meeting with his Bosnian Government counterparts to be "a success" and said that both sides "had demonstrated a true desire for peace."

At the same time, Gajic said he dared not "trust the enemy too much," and that Serb forces must "stay vigilant on the front line because, until final demarcation has been agreed upon, the peace will not be concluded."

The two sides, which will set up a "hot line" between them, are scheduled to meet again on Monday at 1:00 p.m. [1200 GMT 23 October] to establish exactly where the front line between their forces lies.

A similar local agreement was also concluded in the town of Bocac, 30 kilometers (18 miles) south of Banja Luka, reported the Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency.

This second accord has stopped hosilities along the so-called "Vrbas front," according to SRNA. Bosnian and Croat forces recently seized a nearby the Bocac hydraulic generator, on the Vrbas River, that supplies Banja Luka with much of its elecricity.

The negotiations leading to this mini-truce unfolded under the auspices of British representatives from the multinational rapid reaction force set up by Britain, France and the Netherlands. Representing the Serb side was General Zdravko Tolimir, the agency reported.

Tolimir was sacked on Sunday, along with three other generals, by the Bosnian Serb "parliament," but on Monday the military general staff refused to ratify the firings. All four generals are close associates of military strongman Ratko Mladic.

The two opposing sides in the Vrbas region will next meet to discuss an exchange of prisoners and to take count of the size of their forces.

Military Journal Editor Fired

AU2310123395 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 95 p 14

[Article by R. Kovacevic: "Who Is Lieutenant Colonel Milutinovic?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Along with the prime minister of the Serb Republic [Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and a group of generals, whom—in the opinion of most delegates of the Serb Republic assembly—Radovan Karadzic can remove and pension off, there is also the name of Lieutenant Colonel Milovan Milutinovic. Who is he and what has he done to deserve such attention and such anger from the highest legislative body of the state?

He is the chief editor of the SRPSKA VOJSKA magazine, issued by the chief of staff of Serb Republic army, and this is already half the answer. The second half consists of the articles and commentaries published with his permission, some even signed by him. They show the essence and also some details of the conflict between the state and military leaderships of the Serb Republic.

Even a superficial perusal shows that there are very few such army magazines that write about the state leadership and its president, i.e. their supreme commander, in such an open and critical way even in peacetime, never mind during wartime.

The reason, it seems, was Karadzic's order to dissolve some parts of the information system, which for three years operated very well. Formally, this was to protect intelligence. But other reasons can be seen in Milutinovic's article, "The Privatization of the Media," in

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which he accuses state bodies and individuals of the "misuse of the means of information" and of acts that reduce the army to the status of a stepchild.

The introduction of real criteria in the media is necessary in every state, he says, and gives examples of cardinal violations of elementary security discipline. In just one radio program in mid-August, he says, Karadzic, as supreme commander, spoke so incautiously that "he betrayed over 70 percent of (the names of) the units and their theaters of operations, and around 50 percent of their command personnel!"

In radio and television programs, Milutinovic goes on, people from the supreme command even betrayed plans for a large number of Serb Republic army operations. That is no surprise because these programs are made by amateurs, and the censorship is done by people without any military knowledge. Milutinovic mentions an argument at the ministry of information about the need to introduce more order into the information system and to accept the practice of briefings (giving short explanations of the situation to journalists). On that occasion, there was much criticism of the government's decision "to appoint a medical student as director of the international press center of the Serb Republic, even if it were Sonja Karadzic [daughter of Karadzic]." The minister of information answered: "I cannot do anything about this; you in the army should also help me to remove her from this post. We have already tried to, but without success." They tried in vain....

Milutinovic stresses the need of the young state to have foreign journalists received by people who know what information means, "not in the harsh, even inhuman way in which they are treated." Add to this Karadzic's ban on all members of the military, including Mladic, to make any sort of public statement, then, according to Milutinovic, it is clear how deep the manipulating of the public and the misuse of the means of information by state bodies go.

In his opinion, rumors are spread about the leftist orientation of officers and abuses in arresting some officials (such as when the Olovo mayor was caught red-handed trading with the enemy), just like the hideous insinuations that Mladic is sick and must be removed straight away. "The daily manipulation of public opinion about the lack of discipline in the army and about disobedient, already 'crazy generals' is very dangerous and can be of no use to anybody, particularly not to the present state leadership," Lieutenant Colonel Milovan Milutinovic wrote (and signed). The epilogue is known.

He may have thereby put an end to his military career, but at least his conscience is clear.

Zhirinovskiy Meets Karadzic, Krajisnik, Seselj

LD2110222895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2142 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvornik, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, held a meeting with [Bosnian] Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic Parliament, near Zvornik this evening.

After the meeting, Karadzic said that the talks focused on "the imminent peace in the area."

Zhirinovskiy told the press that the Russian Parliament "devotes great attention to problems in the Balkans and all Serb territories," and added that "all deputies want peace to prevail here."

He recalled that the Russian Parliament has several times urged that the economic blockade against Yugoslavia should be lifted unilaterally, and said he expects most countries to opt "for an early lifting of the sanctions." He also said that "peace will come to the Balkans soon."

Expressing his solidarity with, as he put it, "all Serb lands," Zhirinovskiy wished them "a just peace" and the setting-up of economic, cultural, and other links with Russia as soon as possible.

Karadzic told the press that "the cease-fire has been observed much better since yesterday" in western Bosnia. He said that the announced opening of liaison offices of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [in Sarajevo] and the Muslim government [in Belgrade] "cannot be harmful, and can only help."

The one-hour meeting, held behind closed doors in the Vidikovac Hotel in Sveti Stefan, was also attended by Serbian Radical Party, Chairman Vojislav Seselj.

Arkan To Redeploy Forces To Eastern Slavonia

AU2110185095 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prijedor, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Oct 21 (AFP)—The notorious militia leader "Arkan", head of an ultranationalist Serb paramilitary force known as the "Tigers", said Saturday [21 October] he planned to leave northwestern Bosnia and redeploy his men in eastern Slavonia.

Speaking to journalists in his headquarters in the northwestern town of Prijedor, Zeljko Raznjatovic, known as "Arkan", said the last batallion of 300 men would leave Sunday for Erdut in eastern Slavonia, the region in eastern Croatia controlled by secessionist Serbs.

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He added the batallion would go first to Bijeljina, northeastern Bosnia, to be reviewed by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

The withdrawal of Raznjatovic's men from Bosnia was demanded this week by the U.S. State Department.

U.S. mediator Richard Holbrooke asked Serb President Slobodan Milosevic on Thursday to put an end to Raznjatovic's activities.

Raznjatovic, a convicted criminal, is widely considered responsible for war crimes committed in late 1991 in eastern Croatia during the Belgrade-backed Serb rebellion there, and in northeastern and western Bosnia after the conflict spread to Bosnia in 1992.

Raznjatovic said he had already sent a brigade to eastern Slavonia—the last remaining Serb-held region in Croatia—which had been operating in northwestern Bosnia. He did not indicate the date of the withdrawal nor the strength of the force. However, a reliable source said numbers could be around 1,000 men.

"The situation is now calm here and the Serb people need us in eastern Slavonia as crack Croatian troops are heading there," said Raznjatovic.

UN observers in northwestern Bosnia said they have been unable to trace the whereabouts of several hundren Moslem males of fighting age since they were rounded by Serb paramilitaries in areas under attack by Croat-Moslem forces in the past few weeks. They and surviving non-Serbs in the region have expressed fears for their safety.

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Government, Rebel Slavonian Serbs Begin Talks

AU2310094395 Paris AFP in English 0914 GMT 23 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 23 (AFP)—Croatia and rebel Serbs began U.S.-brokered talks on the disputed territory of eastern Slavonia Monday [23 October], U.S. officials here said, the day after Croatian President Franjo Tudjman again threatened to retake the area by force if talks fail.

The talks, under the chairmanship of U.S. ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith, were taking place in Osijek, an eastern Croatian town on the edge of the rebel-held territory, close to the border with Serbia, an official at the U.S. embassy said.

Washington has been putting pressure on Croatia not to invade the area, which is rich in oil wells and fertile farmland, for fear that a flow of refugees out of the area could destabilise Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and upset the delicate Balkan peace process Washington is leading.

The Croatian army is considered confident however Serbia will not intervene if it does retake the area in the third and last such operation after its military successes in the Krajina and Western Slavonia regions earlier this year.

It is reported eager to retake the area early next month.

Tudjman, speaking at the UN General Assembly in New York Sunday, warned Croatia would retake the area by force soon if the rebel Serbs who four years ago took over the region did not agree by negotiations to come under his control.

The Croatian president said Croatia was ready to "take the necessary measures if the rapid reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, (comprising the regions of) Baranja and western Srijem, are not part of a final peace plan for the region."

Milosevic last Friday sent a strong signal to the rebels to surrender control of the area to Zagreb. He would accept any deal worked out between the two sides, he told the visiting Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn.

The meeting is the third between the two sides and follows a "basic principals agreement" signed between the Croatians and Serbs two weeks ago.

Fresh talks were due to be held last week but were cancelled in what both sides said was a row over the venue.

Focus on Srem-Baranja Region

LD2110153995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1511 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 21 (TANJUG)—The recently-initiated talks between representatives of Croatia and the Krajina Serbs will resume October 23 in Osijek, the office of chief Croatian negotiator Hrvoje Sarinic said on Saturday.

The talks, which should solve the status of the Srem-Baranja region (sector 'east') of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), are held at the initiative of the co-president of the international conference on the former Yugoslalvia Thorvald Stoltenberg and the U.S. Ambassador in Zagreb Peter Galbraith.

Sarinic threatened on Wednesday [18 October] that, if not by way of talks, Croatia will bring Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem under its sovereignty by other means.

The Srem-Baranja area is the only part of RSK which was not occupied by Croatian forces in the summer offensives on Krajina. Sector 'west' was occupied by the Croatian Army in the May, and sectors 'north' and 'south' in the August aggressions on RSK. Several thousand Serb civilians were killed, and over 250,000 Serbs were forced to flee Krajina.

In the first round of the talks held in Erdut, an agreement of principle was reached on the transitional period, under U.N. administration, for the disputed territory after what local elections would be organized. The duration of the transitional period is a subject of dispute. The Serb side is asking for three years, and Zagreb has agreed to one year and insists that after that period the area be incorporated into Croatia.

Radio on Resumption of Talks

LD2310103095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Report by correspondent Zeljka Bacic from Osijek]

[FBIS Translated Text] The third round of talks between the Croatian state delegation and representatives of local Serbs from eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem has begun in Osijek. The Croatian delegation, headed by Hrvoje Sarinic, is composed of Ivic Pasalic, Vesna Skare-Ozbolt, Assistant Interior Minister Josko Moric, prefects Branimir Glavas and Mate Jankovic, and Colonel General Djuro Decak, commander of the Osijek operational area.

Thorvald Stoltenberg, co-chairman of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, and EU Ambassador

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Geert Ahrens arrived in Osijek shortly before 0930. Peter Galbraith, U.S. ambassador in the Republic of Croatia, arrived soon after.

Members of the Serb negotiating team arrived in UN vehicles. Their delegation comprises Milan Milanovic, Slavko Dokmanovic, Dusan Loncar, Zlatko Modalek, and Milan Lakic.

Vesna Skare-Ozbolt said that today's round of talks will continue to build on the Erdut agreement, which represented good progress for the Croatian side. According to Hrvoje Sarinic, the Croatian delegation will advocate the initial stances which were part of the Erdut agreement. He added that there can be no more procrastination and no compromises on the initial agreement.

The talks are being held, as always, behind closed doors.

Government, UN 'Claims' About Krajina Differ

AU2010183595 Paris AFP in English 1808 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Oct 20 (AFP)—Croatian and UN officials made conflicting claims on Friday [20 October] about the plight of remaining Serbs in the formerly Serb-held Krajina region of Croatia amid reports that the area is slowly being repopulated.

UN special envoy for human rights in ex-Yugoslavia Elizabeth Rehn confirmed Friday an influx of residents into Krajina after Croatian forces expelled some 160,000 Serbs in August, but said that the original inhabitants were not among these new arrivals.

"I don't think there are any Serbs coming back so far," she told reporters in Geneva.

At the same time, controversy continued as to the status of the few thousand Serbs—mainly those too old or infirm to flee—remaining in the region.

"The UN is extremely concerned about the plight of the vulnerable Serbs who have been left behind," UN spokesman Chris Gunness said in Zagreb on Friday. "They are not receiving the required attention of the local Red Cross and the Croation authorities," he added, mentioning in particular the "elderly and vulnerable, such as the handicapped."

The Croatian Government acknowledged on Wednesday that 41 Serb civilians have been murdered in Krajina since the Serb-successionist regime there was dismantled, but denied that Croatian army forces were responsible, as alleged by witnesses and human rights monitors. Zagreb also denied the UN figure of 128 Serbs killed.

On Friday a Croatian general, Ivan Cermak, also characterized as "totally false" UN claims that 22,000 homes had been destroyed. As for those Serbs murdered, he added, "20 cases have been solved and the suspects remanded before justice."

But Rehn, who succeeded Tadeusz Mazowiecki as the UN envoy on human rights, said that the destruction of houses was continuing.

On Thursday, also in Zagreb, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck said that Washington expected that those guilty of crimes against Serbs in Krajina would be punished by the Croatian government.

The plight of elderly and sick Serbs still in Krajina is terrible, Rehn said, with many literally abandoned in their own excrement and left without food for days at a time.

She also contended that the conditions imposed by Croatian laws on the return of exiled Serbs to Krajina effectively bar them from returning. "In practice it can't work," she said.

Tudjman Departs for NY To Attend UN Session

LD2110082695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, left for New York at 0800 [0700 GMT] this morning. During his three-day visit to UN headquarters he will attend the formal session of the UN General Assembly on the occasion of this organization's 50th anniversary. Andjelko Perincic has the report. [passage omitted]

[Perincic] Before boarding the plane, Tudjman made a brief statement:

[Begin Tudjman recording] The 50th anniversary of the United Nations is an opportunity for world statesmen to say something about ways of improving the mechanism of the United Nations, which clearly has an irreplaceable role.

As far as my visit is concerned, I will meet the U.S. President as well as other world statesmen. It will be hard work, but necessary. Goodbye. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Car Bomb Explodes in Rijeka 20 Oct; One Dead

Official on Possible Motives

LD2010165795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The car bomb explosion at the parking lot of the police department of Primorje-Gorani county in the heart of Rijeka at 1126 alarmed

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the residents of the town and the county. This is the first terrorist act of this kind not only in Rijeka but in Croatia as a whole and we can only speculate about the motives for it, Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak said at a news conference he held together with Hrvoje Sarinic, the head of the president's office, shortly before 1500 at the scene of the explosion. Olga Mandic reporting from Rijeka.

[Mandic] The tragic toll of the explosion is one dead, two seriously wounded, and 27 people with slight injuries. Damage on the police building is considerable. The next door building housing the Pedagogical Faculty and primary school was also damaged as well as a Zagreb Bank branch and several private flats.

The event has been reconstructed from the investigation carried out so far. When the policeman on duty told the driver of a Mercedes with Italian plates from [Italian town] Bergamo to move, the driver backed up, hit the building with the back of his car, and the car exploded. The policeman is in shock, but sustained only slight injuries. The identity of the dead and wounded people is being established. Minister Ivan Jarnjak had the following to say about the possible motives of this unprecedented terrorist act in the middle of the day, at a very busy point:

[Begin Jarnjak recording] There could be several [motives]. It is possible that the motive could lie in the fact that there is a drug-related trial in Rijeka at the moment of a group arrested in Delnice. With that arrest we cut a very important drug smuggling chain and a drug route which goes to Italy. It could be that. It could also be the constant Serb threat that they will fight the Croats for 100 years by the means of terrorism. It is difficult to say at the moment. [end recording]

[Mandic] We asked Hrvoje Sarinic, the head of the president's office, to comment, too.

[Begin Sarinic recording] This is, of course, regrettable, but we are still a country which is safe and peaceful. I consider this to be a passing incident and hope that it will not happen again. In any event, we will take most resolute actions in that respect. [end recording]

[Mandic] The military state prosecutor's office and the military investigative judge have taken over the investigation. After the initial investigation, carried out by the Rijeka police department, crime experts from Zagreb have taken over the case.

Islamic Group Claims Responsibility

NC2210085295 Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 22 Oct 95 p 6

[Report by Mona Eltahawy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Egypt's largest Muslim militant group yesterday claimed responsibility for a bomb in Croatia on Friday [20 October] and vowed to wage war on Croatia unless it released the group's spokesman.

Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah (The Islamic Group) claimed responsibility in a statement faxed to an international news agency for a bomb in the Croatian port of Rijeka on Friday which killed one person and injured 29.

The group, which narrowly failed to assassinate Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in June, said it detonated the bomb to pressure Croatian authorities into releasing Tal'at Fu'ad Qasim, their spokesman whose whereabouts were last known when Croatian police detained him last month.

"Your interests will be a target for us until you release Shaykh Tal'at Fu'ad Qasim and officially apologise in your media for what happened. Close the door of hell—the situation you are in is bad enough," the statement said.

"Oh Croats, you are deceived if you think this will pass peacefully. The blood is boiling in the veins of the sons of the al-Jama'ah ... who will not be at peace unless Shaykh Qasim is released as soon as possible or you will enter into a war the length of which God only knows."

Qasim, a political refugee in Denmark, was on his way to Bosnia to do research for a book when Croatian police detained him in Zagreb on September 12. He has not been heard of since.

The Croatian government said he left the country some time between September 14 and 18 after he was found guilty of breaking the regulations for being in the country.

Friday's bomb, in a part of Croatia far from the fighting in former Yugoslavia, went off seconds after an Italian registered car had forced its way into police headquarters in Rijeka.

Croatian police had said they suspected drug crime with Italian connections or Serbs might have been involved.

"The military wing of the al-Jama'ah al-Slamiyah announces it carried out its first operation against Croatian interests yesterday," the statement said.

"We tried all political and peaceful means to help Croatia return to its senses but it insisted on challenging

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the feelings of Muslims and acting with stupidity," the al-Jama'ah.

Opposition Said To Lack Election Campaign Issues

AU2210184395 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 95 p 11

[Article by Zelimir Zanko: "The Opposition in Search of an Issue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since not a single opposition amendment was adopted at the latest parliament session and the election laws package was adopted as proposed by the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community—Croatian ruling party], we can safely say that opposition parties will enter the election campaign in a far less favorable position than last time. The problem of the opposition is not so much the election method—whose anti-coalitionist increased election threshold aimed against small parties and a large share of proportion lists [razmjerne liste] is indeed far more suitable for the HDZ than ever before, considering only a lack of real issues by means of which opposition parties could attract voters. At the first elections, the opposition—gathered around the HDZ and the Coalition of National Agreeement [Koalicija narodnog sporazuma]—could have simply called for overthrowing communism and the creation of an independent Croatian state and so the most convincing party (the HDZ) got support from the majority on the general program. At the second elections, both the opposition and the ruling party focused on winning support for the liberation of occupied parts of Croatia and the stabilization of the independent state. Voters believed that those crucial tasks would, with less effort and fewer casualties, be performed by those who undertook them in the first place and so the HDZ retained the ruling position. The third elections will not have such historic issues thanks to "Flash" and "Storm," so the only real problem for the opposition is to find an issue around which it can build its election campaign. Still, the so-called national component has not altogether lost its importance and the effort of the HDZ to prove that even the major opposition parties are, in layman's terms, less Croatian than the ruling party is a case in point.

National Issue—the Croatian Serbs

Indeed, some parties, like the Croatian Rights Party [HSP], will again base their campaigns on convincing the voters that they would solve the question of occupied Croatian areas in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina quickly and efficiently, especially by use of force, which after recent successes of the Croatian Army (and we know who is the head of our state), will not particularly appeal to the voters because they are quite satisfied with the actions of the state, i.e. the ruling party. In the eyes of ordinary people, the second major national issue, the Croatian Serbs, is also a thing of the past now that they all followed Martic out of the country. No Croatian opposition party is likely to insist on controversies like the sincerity of the Croatian Government when urging the Serbs to stay in Croatia and opening the doors to those who wish to come back. That issue will be the focal point of the election campaign of Djukic's Serb National Party.

In light of the recent solution to the two "eternal" Croatian issues—territorial integrity of the country and ceasing to be a hostage of the Croatian Serbs once and for all—accompanied by imminent solution of the problems of refugees, potential issues around which the opposition could have built its electoral victory were played down, though one could not say that they lost all significance and meaning. The issue at stake here is first of all the loss of reputation of a good part of the ruling party, especially locally, involving acquisition of wealth through blackmarketeering, privatization, or transformation of socially-owned property. Linked to that problem is the general state of economy, grave social position of the masses, and the question of morals.

Indeed, the HDZ, regardless of the promises of beloved Prime Minister Valentic, would find it hard to give the right answer to all those questions, or those answers would be less convincing if the election were held at some other time. However, military successes and the liberation of almost the entire country evoked the enthusiasm for quick rebuilding. Such is human nature that people tend to forgive the negative points collected by the government and the poorest and hardest hit by the war start hoping again. Everyone wants to forget the suffering and turn toward the brighter economic future and so, amid arguments that it is imperative that the authorities remain unchanged, small concessions like a minor increase of pensions can do miracles.

Who Cares About "Nuances"

A considerably smaller number of voters can be attracted by the opposition on issues like freedom of the media, functioning of the law-ordered state, protection of human rights, and membership in European institutions, including attempts to portray the ruling party as an obstacle to realization of those questions. In the eyes of ordinary and not very educated voters, who often cannot understand the concept of independence of the society from the state, those are just unimportant nuances. They will perhaps be crucial at the next elections, especially in urban areas, but for the time being, in the climate of postwar trauma and economic instability, they are

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second-rate issues, even for those who would otherwise strongly react to them.

Judging by its election campaign, the opposition is trying to spread its fear of HDZ superiority and calls on voters not to allow the imposition of "one-party totalitarianism." However, voters are primarily interested in the strength of individual parties and that was skillfully used by the HDZ, which managed to recruit a number of opposition leaders.

Some HDZ members, convinced about their own superiority resulting from the state of mind of the nation that favors them, have already become very euphoric but also careless about what they say. That this disposition could well turn out to be a double-edged sword is most evident in the case of merry Sime Djodan who, addressing the parliament in the well-known style of communist phrases, questioned the morals of priests and nuns. Though we could admire Djodan's courage in broaching a new issue, this is nevertheless a very careless goal, because it is obvious that we are not yet mature enough as a society to bring out the dirty laundry of such infallible institutions as the Church, and so the opposition will not have nor seek any advantage from that. If there are no more such blunders, the HDZ can peacefully wait for the elections.

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Oleksy Hopes NATO-Russia Talks Will Be 'Open'

LD2010123795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1049 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Oct— Today, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy expressed hope that negotiations between NATO and Russia would be as clear and open as the plans of expanding NATO to the East. Opening a conference in Warsaw on "Germany-Poland-Russia and European Security," Oleksy also stressed that comprehensive thinking was necessary in cooperation.

Referring to our relations with Russia against the background of our aspirations to join NATO, Oleksy said that "we do not see NATO as an adversary of Russia or CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. On the contrary, we see the alliance as not only an indispensable factor of stabilization in Europe, but also an important instrument in further improvement of East-West relations." Asked by journalists about yesterday's meeting with President Lech Walesa, the prime minister said that both he and the president had been in agreement regarding Poland's present and future activities on the international scene.

Walesa To Veto Legislation on New Tax System

LD2010141695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1129 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bydgoszcz, 20 Oct—President Lech Walesa, who today visited the press printing house and editorial offices of the ILUSTROWANY KURIER POLSKI in Bydgoszcz, said that he would veto the tax legislation introducing a six-band tax system. He said that he had made up his mind on Thursday.

The president stated that, although some concessions were due to the people with the lowest income, it could not be done at the cost of the most active, who were contributing to the speeding up of economic development.

Walesa Proposes Mass Enfranchisement Initiative

WS2010124195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Oct 95 p 13

[Article by Ireneusz Walencik: "Mass Enfranchisement; Walesa Wants a Referendum"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lech Walesa wants a referendum to be held on the mass enfranchisement of citizens. He submitted a draft instruction to Speaker of the Senate Adam Struzik on 19 October. The suggested date of the referendum is 21 January 1996.*

The president is proposing that Poles answer the following question: "Should mass enfranchisement of Polish citizens be carried out?" The referendum is to decide which of four variants of enfranchisement is to be implemented:

—Should enfranchisement account only for assets under the proprietorship of the State Treasury, or for municipal property as well;

—Are the assets acquired by the citizens to remain in just one mass enfranchisement fund, or should they be distributed among the social security, pension, and reprivatization funds;

—Who are the beneficiaries of enfranchisement to be: Polish citizens who have been residents of Poland for at least five years, Polish citizens regardless of how long ago they acquired citizen status, or Polish citizens regardless of their place of residence;

—Is enfranchisement to be free of charge, paid for, or have the form of a credit.

The small constitution provides that the president may call a referendum after having obtained the approval of the Senate in an absolute majority vote. The referendum law dated 29 October 1995 states that the Senate should reach a decision on the president's initiative within 14 days of receiving the draft instruction.

The strongest advocate of mass enfranchisement is Solidarity. On 18 October, Solidarity's National Council appealed to its members to support Lech Walesa's candidacy in the presidential elections.

Gronkiewicz-Waltz on Rivals Kwasniewski, Walesa

WS2010141695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Oct 95 p 2

[Article by "WZ": "Gronkiewicz-Waltz: I Feel Strengthened; Energetic Alternative"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I want to provide an alternative for those who want neither Aleksander Kwasniewski, who stands for a return to the past, nor Lech Walesa, who means we shall have five more years of chaos," said Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz yesterday.

The president of the Central Bank of Poland [NBP] met with reporters after a visit to Primate Glemp. "I left that meeting feeling strengthened," she said. She attacked her rivals: "Voting for Kwasniewski we will support a man who lies about how he had voted in the Sejm, shields Ireneusz Sekula [former head of the Main Customs Office charged with embezzlement], and heads a party that torpedoes reforms." Gronkiewicz admitted that Walesa has done a great deal for Poland. She did, however, go on to add: "I do not think the Poles want five more years of wrangling, crises, and lack of clarity." The NBP president proposed a "new type

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of leadership": professional politics without squabbling. GAZETA WYBORCZA was told by members of her campaign committee: "We want to convince all those who are still undecided that the central bank president is energetic and has the strength to represent them."

After the news conference, Jerzy Gwizdz, head of President Walesa's campaign committee, accused her of "supporting Kwasniewski's campaign by launching unsubstantiated attacks on Lech Walesa."

Kwasniewski Asks To Be Elected in First Round

LD2010164395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1501 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Wroclaw, 20 Oct—Commenting in Wroclaw today on the course of the election campaign, Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the majority of Poles want calm, do not accept aggression, and demand of politicians political good manners and respect for democracy.

Kwasniewski explained that he is taking on the role of "front-runner" and understands that "everybody is riding against him." He said, however, that, despite numerous attacks from the other candidates, he will not change his campaign style and, therefore, will not be paying his rivals back in kind.

The left-wing candidate told journalists that he profoundly believes that the presidential elections will not turn Poland away from the road of democracy—of building a civic society, in which people will have increasing influence on state decisionmaking.

When asked whom he fears most in the second round of the elections, Kwasniewski replied that he "knows whom he will meet there" and is glad that there is such widespread belief in his going through to the second round. He joked that, because there are so many problems to be solved in Poland, it would be a good thing if people were to vote so as to give him victory in the first round. In his opinion, this would be a great saving—of just under 300 billion, which could be earmarked for social purposes. "I appeal for votes not to be lost and not to be dissipated, but for a president to be elected in the first round. If I am elected, I guarantee that I will earmark these funds for social purposes," the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader said.

Presidential Candidate Waldemar Pawlak Interviewed

LD2310114595 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0715 GMT 23 Oct 95

[Interview with Waldemar Pawlak, Polish Peasant Party, PSL, presidential candidate, by Krzysztof Skowronski in the studio—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Skowronski] Good morning, sir.

[Pawlak] Good morning.

[Skowronski] Who will win the election?

[Pawlak] The best person.

[Skowronski] Who is that?

[Pawlak] We will see on 5 November.

[Skowronski] Do we have to wait until 5 November? Don't we know already?

[Pawlak] You know, I think it is primarily the electors who will decide who wins the election and not our conversation here today.

[Skowronski] What are your chances?

[Pawlak] I think the most important thing in these elections is for us to present the circumstances and conditions honestly to all those who will decide the matter on 5 November, so that they know what direction Polish affairs will take after these elections. I think we should show clearly that Poland has a very interesting situation at the moment and a good chance of being the number-one country in the region. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] Why is President Lech Walesa's popularity increasing? Why do more and more people want to vote for him?

[Pawlak] You would have to put that question to those people who are deciding at this moment to vote for President Walesa. I think that, in some cases, our coalition partners are helping the president [word indistinct]; for example, by withdrawing from the earlier decisions concerning pensions and disability benefits, they are giving the president the chance, two years after signing the act that lowered the index-linking of benefits, to proclaim [?everywhere] that he is the defender of the pensioners.

[Skowronski] Why is this happening? Do you think Aleksander Kwasniewski wants to have Lech Walesa as his opponent in the second round?

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[Pawlak] Maybe, although it seems to me that this lineup would not be at all easy for Mr. Kwasniewski. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] Aleksander Kwasniewski has declared clearly that he and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] will support you if you make the second round of the election. You have not made this kind of declaration.

[Pawlak] You know, I think it is a very good idea on Mr. Kwasniewski's part, to behave like this. However, we will have to wait a bit longer to see how things turn out. Returning for a moment to the previous question, I think that an interesting example of overzealousness on the part of both President Walesa and Chairman Kwasniewski is the example of the contest between them for who will be first to announce that NATO can deploy nuclear weapons on Polish soil, although NATO politicians do not expect this of us at all; and these are examples that show that circumspection is needed in politics, and not such zealousness, such mimicry, and such a surging ahead, often in an irresponsible way. [passage omitted]

[Skowronski] President Yeltsin has said yet again, at the United Nations, that Russia does not want NATO to be expanded. What do you think about that?

[Pawlak] I think that Mr. Yeltsin has said various things. There was a time when he even said in Warsaw that he agrees to Poland's joining NATO. Maybe the reflexes of our partners in the North Atlantic Treaty were not so good because then it would have been enough simply to say: Yes, indeed, all right, Poland will join in the immediate future. And speaking about security matters, I think there has to be a broad view in order also to see that democracy in Russia creates the chance for security because the people of Russia are also extricating themselves from Stalinist history, from those very painful experiences; but, at the same time, it is all the more necessary to stress that if we are talking about democracy, we should respect the decisions of different countries, sovereign decisions. Poland wants stability and security, for then we can count on long-term prospects of development, of cooperation as partners with many different countries, and at the moment the most stable solution is membership in the North Atlantic Treaty. This is our direction of activity, but, at the same time, it has to be done in a circumspect way so that, while thinking of our own security, we can take care that Europe and our region are also secure.

[Skowronski] And, in conclusion, if you had to make a brief assessment of President Walesa and his five years?

[Pawlak] You know, in a few weeks' time, the electorate will assess this and let us not deprive them of the chance. I have my thoughts, and I will not be voting for President Walesa.

[Skowronski] And in the second round?

[Pawlak] And in the second round, I think we will see. The second round may turn out to be a surprise for all those who are conducting polls and assessments today; and we are probably at a point where it is not in offices and in front of microphones and cameras that the way things will look in the second round is being decided. The many simple, ordinary people have a nose and an instinct for these things, and they will very likely surprise us all.

Opinion Poll Shows Walesa Advancing

LD2010213195 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2045 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A significant advance for Lech Walesa and a fall in the popularity of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz in the presidential stakes is noted by the latest Social Opinion Research Centre opinion poll.

[Correspondent] The intention to vote is being declared at the moment by 77 percent of those polled, and thus the same as a week ago but 7 percent more than a month ago. The leader in the rankings is still Aleksander Kwasniewski, who just as a week ago can count on 27 percent of the vote. The distance separating him from Lech Walesa has, however, significantly reduced. Over a week, the support of the present president has improved by 5 percent. Currently, 22 percent of those polled intend to vote for Lech Walesa; 8 percent for Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, which is 4 percent less than a week ago and two times less than a month ago; 7 percent for Jacek Kuron; 6 percent for Tadeusz Zielinski; 4 percent for Waldemar Pawlak; 3 percent each for Leszek Moczulski, Jan Olszewski, and Jan Pietrzak; 2 percent each for Lech Kaczynski and Janusz Korwin-Mikke; and 1 percent each for Andrzej Lepper and Marek Markiewicz. On the other hand, Leszek Bubel, Tadeusz Kozluk, Bogdan Pawlowski, and Kazimierz Piotrowicz gain zero support, according to the CBOS poll.

* * *

The poll data are from 13-17 October, and the statistical margin of error is 3 percent.

100 Movement Now Liberal-Conservative Party

LD2110202195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Participants in the founding convention of the 100 Movement, which was held

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in Lodz, have decided to transform the movement into the Liberal-Conservative Party [Partia Liberalno-Konserwatywna]. The new party has set as its objective broad participation in public life and intends to exert influence on the formation of state policies and the work of the government. The leader of the 100 Movement, Andrzej Olechowski, said that the party's members will be people who believe that a modern state should be based on free citizens and entrepreneurs.

Supports Walesa for President

LD2210145095 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1243 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lodz, 22 Oct—Today, the second day of the deliberations of the National Founding Convention of the 100 Movement, the delegates are electing the movement's authorities, including its chairman and political council. They will also decide whether the grouping will give its support to one of the presidential candidates.

On 21 October the movement transformed itself into a liberal conservative party, calling itself the "100 Movement."

[Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish at 1400 GMT on 22 October carries the following report on the 100 Movement party supporting Polish President Lech Walesa for president:

"Delegates at the 100 Movement convention in Lodz have ordered their representatives to inform journalists that support for Lech Walesa's presidential candidacy dominated during the convention proceedings. Walesa was described as the candidate with the greatest chance of defeating a postcommunist candidate in the presidential elections. A resolution on this was adopted on a motion by the leader of the movement, Andrzej Olechowski.

"The convention intends to appeal to all organizations and political parties to hold a joint mass campaign on 12 November, under the slogan: Go out and vote."]

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Iliescu: NATO No Threat to National Identity

AU2110164995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Taking the floor during a symposium titled "Romanian Society—Its Present and Perspectives," organized by the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Bucharest branch, Romanian President Ion Iliescu asserted that the integration of our country with the EU and euro-atlantic structures does not threaten our national identity, but on the contrary, failing to achieve that integration could affect our genuine national interests.

Mr. Iliescu also assessed that it is important to distinguish between extremist nationalism and patriotism, and that, although the unitary national state does not mean an ethnically homogeneous state, the ethnic minorities cannot be regarded as nations or autonomous national communities existing on the territory of a sovereign and nonfederative state.

Army Commanders, General Staff Heads Appointed

AU2110165095 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today, during ceremonies that took place in Bucharest, Constanta, and Buzau, they appointed the new command cadres of the large military units existing in these localities. [passage omitted]

We mention that Division General Dorin Gheorghe Gheorghiu was appointed commander of the 4th, Transylvania Army, while Colonel Ion Cioara was appointed head of the General Staff and first deputy of the 4th Transylvania Army.

Rear Admiral Constantin Iordache was appointed Navy inspector of the Ministry of National Defense Inspectorate, while Rear Adm. Stefan Virgil Stoica was appointed first deputy of the head of the Navy General Staff.

Brigadier Gen. Grigore Badalan was appointed commander of the 2d Army stationed in Buzau, while Col. Viorel Barloiu was appointed head of the general staff of that Army.

Tinca Speaks at Ceremony

AU2010160495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The ceremony to appoint commanders of the 'Transylvania' 4th Army took place in Cluj-Napoca this morning, in the presense of Romania's Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca.

Division General Dorin Gheorghe Gheorghiu has been appointed commander of the 'Transylvania' 4th Army and Colonel Ion Cioara was entrusted with the position of chief of staff and first deputy of the commander, our correspondent Teodor Mateescu reports.

In a speech on the occasion, Defense Minister Tinca referred at length to the significance of this event as well as to the social and professional problems of the army. Similarly, he referred to the content of the new law on the status of military cadres. Minister Tinca rejected speculation regarding these extensive personnel changes at the command level, noting that these moves were dictated by the development of Romanian society itself and the provisions of the law; they have no political significance and are not a reaction to pressure signals.

In this context, Mr. Tinca noted how the 'Transylvania' 4th Army had helped to improve our country's image by its good showing when it participated in joint actions within the Partnership for Peace. This produced the wish to improve the training level in the country's other two armies to the level that the 'Transylvania' 4th Army reached a long time ago.

The ceremony was also attended by Army Gen. Dumitru Cioflina, chief of staff of the Romanian General Staff, and by the prefects of Cluj, Alba, Caras-Severin, Satu Mare, and Salaj.

The former commander of the 'Transylvania' 4th Army, Reserve Army Gen. Paul Cheler, was not present at the ceremony. However, in his speech, Defense Minister Tinca thanked him for his efforts and for the professional competence with which he honored the positions of command that he held throughout a career that deserves respect and appreciation.

[Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian on 18 Oct 95, in a 150-word report by Doru Dragomir on page 5 entitled "Division General Dorin Gheorghiu Will Be the New Commander of the 'Transylvania' 4th Army," notes that Gen. Gheorghiu was previously head of the staff of the 4th Army.]

Police Use Force To Disperse Student Rally

AU2010164095 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today at 1430 about 2,000 students who were protesting the Education Law, were blocked by the law enforcement bodies at the intersection of Stirbei Voda Street and the Dambovita River pier, at the Podul Eroilor [Heroes' Bridge].

Initially, this morning the students intended to go from Unirii Square to the Television Building in an organized

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march. The leadership of the Bucharest University Students League had verbally reassured the authorities that the march would take place in an orderly manner. However, due to the restrictions imposed by the law enforcement bodies sent to the spot, the march could not be held.

On that occasion Colonel Vasile Popa pointed out why he could not allow the march to take place, namely, that the march had not been authorized and the students did not offer guarantees that they would not disrupt traffic or make stopovers in any place while en route in the capital city.

At about 1500 the students departed, going along the Dambovita pier heading for the Regie campus, where they are to decide how to continue their protests, informs our correspondents Amalia Bojescu and Ioan David.

A ROMPRES news item reports that at 1315 hours the police retaliated making the students who had blocked the Law Chair pull back by running along the Dambovita pier toward the Municipality Hospital. A student whose face was covered by blood declared before the television cameras that he had been hit by the law enforcement bodies while he was retreating.

The repressive forces showed their true colors, stated Ion Urse, president of the Students League, to a ROMPRES reporter. We wish to be left alone to protest peacefully to have our claims be met, added the student leader.

In view of the fact that the student strike continues, as well as their demands, Education Minister Liviu Maior insisted on telling us in a statement made at his own request, that the Education Law stipulates the payment of tuition fees solely for students who repeat the study year because they failed in their exams. No fees are to be paid by those who really study and obtain at least grade 5 in their exams. Currently the Education Ministry's records show that country-wide there are 25,000 students whose situation is unclear, as they did not even show up for their exams.

The minister also pointed out that the government is paying the costs for the aforementioned students, the funds being spent on this amounting to 17 billion lei each year.

He also pointed out that—contrary to rumors—no fees are to be paid by students who shun the lectures.

The fact that tuition fees are to be paid by students who repeat their study years does not violate Article 32 of the Constitution. That article stipulates that education is free of charge for all citizens, within the provisions of the law—and currently this law is the Education Law that has become effective [this fall].

Furthermore, the education minister said that in certain university centers the students are gathering signatures to have certain articles of the Education Law altered, namely, those referring to the ethnic minorities, a thing which is not justified and proves that the students' demands are beginning to change their color.

In the conclusion of his statement, Mr. Maior pointed out that the social protection of the students is ensured by the currently valid scholarship system, which offers them low-price fares to travel by public transportation in the cities and by train in the country, reports our correspondent Cristina Iliescu.

Democratic Party, PUSD Sign Merger Protocol

AU1910085195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A protocol of merger between the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Unity Party [PUSD] has been signed this evening in Bucharest. The merger has been achieved through absorption and on condition that the symbol of the Democratic Party will be preserved.

As it results from the declarations of the two party leaders, Petre Roman and Serghei Mesaros, this merger was brought about by the need to unite the opposition forces and by the determination of the Democratic Party to present viable ruling alternative.

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Federal

Experts Say Belgrade Will Not Defend Slavonia

AU2210141595 Paris AFP in English
1009 GMT 22 Oct 95

[Report by Jacques Charmelot]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 22 (AFP) — Belgrade will not step in to rescue rebel Serbs occupying part of Croatia if the Croatian Army seeks to retake the area, Western military and diplomatic sources said here Sunday [22 October].

This military analysis, that the ex-Yugoslav army is not in a position to rescue the Serbs of eastern Slavonia because of the difficulties this would entail, is accepted at the most senior level by UN headquarters in Zagreb.

It makes hollow the official view expressed in public by Western powers, notably the United States, that a Croatian attack would drag Belgrade's army into conflict with its powerful neighbour.

Croatia, too, has come to this conclusion. Its army is reported to be impatient to get on with its third major military operation this year despite the government's public assurances, made notably on Thursday by President Franjo Tudjman to US mediator Richard Holbrooke, that it will do nothing while talks with the Serb rebels are in progress.

A fresh round of talks between Serbs and Croatians is planned for Monday at Osijek in eastern Croatia and according to a UN political assessment, the signs coming from Belgrade that it will not defend the Serbs are putting pressure on the rebels to agree to whatever it is Zagreb demands.

Neither Belgrade, nor Western diplomats want a strike against eastern Slavonia, a UN official told AFP. A military strike by Zagreb could destabilise Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and reduce his capacity to play a useful role in the US-brokered peace process in Bosnia.

"If there is something that will stop the Croatians, it is political, rather than military," a Western diplomat said.

On a military level, "the obstacle is the Danube", a military analyst told AFP over of a map of eastern Slavonia. The territory covers some 2,700 square kilometres (1,080 square miles) in the far east of Croatia, on the borders of Serbia and Hungary and backing onto the river Danube.

It would not be feasible for the Serbians to cross the river enough mechanized troops to repel the Croatians, the analyst said. There are just three secure bridges to use to cross the river and "a tactical, mechanized deployment in these circumstances would be too difficult," he added.

A second Western diplomat agreed, adding that the almost certain flight of thousands of refugees from the area would paralyze any military operation.

"Militarily it would be difficult because there are only three decent bridges and you would have a flow of refugees coming over them. I don't see too tanks trying to drive a way through the Serbs to get at the Croatians," the diplomat said.

Belgrade's reaction would be more likely limited to some artillery fire from Serb territory against Croatian targets or "symbolic" plane or helicopter raids, the diplomat said.

The senior military analyst said Serbia's army would stop any action it did take as soon as Croatia's army reached the Serbian border, something he expected to happen "very quickly" given the narrowness of the strip of land held by the Serbs.

"The region is very vulnerable because it has no depth," he added, pointing to the region around Vukovar, the town destroyed in a brutal siege by the Serbs in 1991 and situated less than 20 kilometres (12 miles) from Croatian lines.

In the southern sector of eastern Slavonia, an area including Vukovar, advancing Croatian troops would have to pass through several layers of minefields but this would not be a major obstacle to the powerful Croatian Army, the analyst said.

The Croatian Army is thought to be 105,000 strong, with 20,000 professional soldiers.

In the north, progress would be slowed by the marshy ground and the obstacle provided by the Drava River, neither of which would help Croatia's armoured divisions.

This could mean that Tudjman will decide to go first for the important symbol of Vukovar and only later push for the north of the sector to come back under Zagreb's control, the analyst said, but this itself would present many difficulties.

If Zagreb does decide to attack, as UN and Western military analysts think it will, Milosevic will face a new flood of refugees and destabilisation of his economy and political base.

"This could upset the peace process in Bosnia," a Western diplomat said, explaining why Washington and the Europeans are coming out in public against any invasion of the region.

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Washington instead is brokering talks between the Serbs and Croatians and Milosevic on Friday sent a clear signal to the rebel Serbs to get on with the negotiations, knowing only to well that Tudjman is little inclined to wait before sending the troops in.

He told the Hungarian Premier Gyula Horn he would accept any deal acceptable to the Serbs and Zagreb.

Serb Volunteers' Relations With Belgrade Examined

AU2210183995 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 95 p 11

[Commentary by Dejan Anastasijevic: "Tigers' Business"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to reports from the area, since the start of the offensive on western Bosnia at the beginning of last month, Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan's people have started a big campaign of imposing order in the manner already seen in eastern Slavonia: forced recruiting, shaving heads, and beating (when necessary). It seems that these methods really helped to restrain the panic caused by the success of the Croats and the the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and by the destruction of the system of communications after the NATO strikes, although their effect was probably rather overestimated. However, they doubtlessly met with resistance within the Army of the Serb Republic. Sources from the area say that, during one of those "misunderstandings," the commander [Arkan] of the Serb Volunteer Guards [SDG] was disarmed and arrested after he had slapped an officer of the Serb Republic Army in the face. After somebody's intervention several hours later, he was released. "The head staff disagrees with our concept of defense," Borislav Pelevic, deputy commander of the SDG, complained at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the SDG in Erdut, on Wednesday, 11 October, adding that "the initial misunderstandings have been overcome," and that the relations with Karadzic and Mladic were "correct now."

Drownings

Maybe they are. Yet, the long and rich history of "misunderstandings" and "incidents" that burden the relationships between the SDG and the authorities of the Serbs across the Drina indicate that this is a long-lasting problem. A considerable part of the first team of Raznatovic's "staff" was recruited directly from prison, and some of them have in the meantime returned there, despite all their actions on the front: for example, Zoran Macejin Macak, a close assistant of Marinko Magda, who had the rank of a "lieutenant" in the SDG. Cutting hair and shaving beards does not help there, nor does the wearing of uniforms from World War I: Unless there is booty that can be plundered from "Ustashas and Turks" (a very wide category), such people will reach for the property of the nearest Serb. Even in a phony state like the Serb Republic, such an "army" will always represent a constant source of problems for every regime. General Mladic realized this very quickly, mentioning in a recent interview "groups and paramilitaries who mostly spend their time around jewelry shops and banks, and have never liberated even one hill."

Despite everything, the Serb Republic authorities still seem to have gotten more use from Raznatovic than harm. One of the reasons that the misunderstandings were soon forgotten could be the doubtless success in the action of cleansing the surroundings of Prijedor of remaining Muslims and Croats, which began at the end of September. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], in only a few days SDG members expelled around 5,000 people to the territory under the control of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Chris Janowski, UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo, says that this was done "in a rather horrifying way." According to the same reports, exhausted people were forced to swim across the river, and many of them drowned on that occasion. Others died of exhaustion and beatings, and all of them were thoroughly plundered. These are the testimonies of women, children, and the aged; men were crammed onto buses with Vukovar registration plates and taken away in an unknown direction.

Poems and Curses

On Wednesday, 11 October, one such bus with a Vukovar registration plate, painted in black, drove journalists from Belgrade to Erdut, to the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the SDG. If they have problems in Bosnia, Raznatovic's "Tigers" definitely have no problems in Serbia and Slavonia: The convoy with SDG members and their guests drove the entire way without being stopped once, not even at the "border crossing" in Sid (not to mention the paying of the road duty). The friendly attitude of the organs of public peace and order towards this column was probably also influenced by the fact that one of the jeeps, together with the signs of the military police of the SDG, bore the blue registration plates of the Interior Ministry of Serbia (registration number M602-315). The celebration itself was more modest than the previous ones, in accordance with the fact that in the previous two weeks 16 SDG members had been killed in western Bosnia, mainly members of the young generation of "Tigers." Their relatives, who had mostly not been informed about the circumstances under which their sons and brothers had

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been killed, stood silent listening to the passionate and loud recitation of actor Milutin Kostic Pljaka, composed of passages from epic poems and curses to those who wish to steal Serbian land.

Raznatovic himself, of course, was not present at the anniversary — it was said that he was on the first line of the front. On the same day, Banja Luka television broadcast a report from Banja Luka, which showed the smiling Arkan together with his wife Ceca. Her husband had taken her to the very front line, she said, not without pride. The reporter asked her to comment on her impressions. "It was a quite exceptional experience," she said.

Commentary Examines Bosnian 'Pax Americana'

AU2210184195 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 95 p 9

[Commentary by Dragoslav Rancic: "Pax Americana"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Peace could really come to Bosnia in a foreseeable time, so maybe it is time to ask ourselves where we are when we are not surrounded by war. The peace will be made after the American measure: imposed upon the conflicting parties out of primarily American reasons, but welcomed by everybody as the success of everybody, and, much more important, as the beginning of the end of bloodshed, although not necessarily the end of the international involvement in the Balkan region.

Pax Americana is, as has been supposed, the defeat of the Serbian national policy embodied in Slobodan Milosevic before the war: There is no "Greater Serbia," and it is questionable what has been left of Yugoslavia, as the hard path to international recognition still awaits us. Knin Krajina does not exist any longer, Vukovar and Baranja will, accompanied by our feelings of helplessness and frustration, return to Croatia in the form of (hopefully) some autonomy, with a lot of talk about human rights; and the existence of Bosnia is more certain through the future intense presence of foreign armies on its soil, rather than through its constitutional arrangement.

Around us we will have three countries with the status of undeclared U.S. colonies — Bosnia, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia — FYROM], and Albania — then one German vassal (a "respectable military power," as President Tudjman says), and "old" neighbors, preoccupied with their own worries and wishing to stand under the NATO umbrella as soon as possible. We will still be in a harder situation than those around us, because, on the basis of our geostrategic position, we will be in a "black cauldron" with a hard-to-remove reputation as the leper of Europe.

Bosnian Serbs, as our biggest open wound, will have, in that monstrous state of theirs — if it survives — two possible options. First, they can use the veto, which the others can hardly wait for, in order to use their own veto; or they can be in the position in which the Albanians in Serbia are now. That means the boycott of legal, internationally recognized authorities, but without the international support which the Albanians have. In other words, hopelessness. Second, they can come closer to the Sarajevo authorities out of material interests, under the condition that they are included in the new "Marshall Plan" (and it will always be possible to find Serbs for a formal ruling coalition). If Arab money comes to Bosnia, the government in Sarajevo will have to give some of it to the Serbs in order to avoid social and other tensions. In t hat case, the economic standard of Bosnian Serbs could grow faster than for those in Serbia, which would reduce the significance and the attraction of the motherland.

There is little possibility that the confederal relationships with Serbia — Milosevic's main argument in convincing Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group plan — will ever be established. Recently Mr. Holbrooke openly said that this was out of the question (which our pro-government media skillfully hid from the public). After all, Americans were the first to recognize Bosnia as a sovereign state, and not with the intention to be the first to destroy it just like that. What is much more probable is the engagement of foreign armies in the disarming of Bosnian Serbs, simultaneously tacitly arming the Muslims.

Immediately upon the peace agreement on Bosnia, it is expected of Yugoslavia, i.e. of Serbia and Montenegro, to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as sovereign states within "AVNOJ" [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders. The recognition of Macedonia, announced for the beginning of November, could open the process of a general mutual recognition of former Yugoslav republics, now new states. That is exactly what Milan Panic [former SFRY prime minister] was proposing three years ago, only without war and without bloodshed.

The usual belief is that the peace in Bosnia will speed up the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia. However, the great powers, first of all the United States and Germany, will not give up sanctions, as the best instrument of duress, just like that. The list of later requests for concessions can be very long — from giving greater autonomy to Kosovo and Vojvodina, to making the problem of the dissatisfied Muslims of three Sandzak municipalities international. They also expect the extradition of war criminals to the Hague tribunal. Finally, they will probably demand that

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Yugoslavia, while waiting before international doors to be recognized and received back into the United Nations, reduce its armed forces, in accordance with the former agreement of the great powers on conventional weapons in Europe, and also in order not to disturb the military balance in the Balkans.

The head of our diplomacy announced the return of Yugoslavia into the "world processes" in three years. That is by all means an optimistic prognosis, but also the first honest statement about our position. If one adds the previous years of crisis, we will probably be outside of the world for an entire decade.

Is there another, more consoling, way?

There is. The defeated must be silent, and, although they claimed that they would not bow to anybody, they must subordinate themselves to the orders of the powerful. Peace will be just to the degree they wish to make it such. And the sanctions do not prevent us from following European examples: educational system, technical standards, judiciary, norms of market economy and of democracy, civilizational principles. Without that, even without sanctions, we would not even be allowed to enter the European waiting room.

After all, even those bigger, more powerful, more celebrated than us came out of defeats with late wisdom. We do not even have to have any special wisdom: Common sense suffices.

Serbia

Milosevic Receives Hungarian Prime Minister Horn

Cooperation, Good Ties Stressed

LD2010144295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG) — The development of cooperation is in the best interests of strengthening the good-neighborly relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Hungary, it was said today at the meeting between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn.

It was stated by the Serbian president's office that Serbian President Milosevic today received Hungarian Prime Minister Horn, who arrived on an official visit to our country accompanied by his colleagues.

The talks, which passed off in an atmosphere of mutual openness, positively assessed the continuity of bilateral contacts and dialogue that is being achieved between the Yugoslav and Hungarian sides. This is contributed to, in particular, by meetings at the highest level, and in this framework the official visit of the Hungarian prime minister has an important place.

The joint view was that the FRY and Hungary should fully exploit the scope for comprehensive cooperation, especially in the economic field, as well as in other areas of mutual interest. It is very much in the interests of both sides for efforts to be made toward modernizing road and rail links and improving border and local cross-border trade, something that would doubtless contribute to the economic development of the two countries and their rapid involvement in regional economic integration processes.

There was special discussion of the commitment to a peaceful end to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Also taking part in the talks was Milan Milutinovic, Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs.

Horn on Vojvodina Hungarians

LD2010205595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] For the time being, the Belgrade leadership does not want to acknowledge that the matter of the Vojvodina Hungarians requires special treatment, the Hungarian prime minister said after his talks in Yugoslavia.

Gyula Horn said that according to the Yugoslav Government's position, the rights of the Vojvodina Hungarians are intact and that no political forces want to push the minorities into the background. [passage omitted]

On Sanctions, Refugee Problem

LD2010204095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungary is ready to restore economic relations with Yugoslavia after the abolition of the sanctions against Serbia, Gyula Horn said in Belgrade. Szilveszter Varga reports. [passage omitted]

[Begin Horn recording] [passage omitted] We paid special attention to the refugee issue. We are of the view that the possibility for the refugees to return to their homes must be guaranteed everywhere in the territory of former Yugoslavia. This requires legal as well as economic and financial conditions and international guarantees, and international supervision of these processes. [end recording]

[Varga] [passage omitted] At the talks there was also mention of the situation of the Vojvodina Hungarians. Hungary urged dialogue in order to resolve the situation.

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On Reintegration of E. Slavonia

LD2010155095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Szilveszter Varga reports on Prime Minister Gyula Horn's program in Belgrade.

[Varga] Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn has held talks on a comprehensive settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Following his talks with the Yugoslav prime minister [Radoje Kontic] and the Serbian president [Slobodan Milosevic], Horn was of the opinion that the Yugoslav crisis had come to a stage when the possibility of creating peace was the closest ever. The Hungarian prime minister added:

[Begin Horn recording] We want a comprehensive settlement, including the reintegration of Eastern Slavonia into Croatia, which is in close connection with the creation of a lasting peace in Bosnia. We welcome the intention, which was also confirmed by the Yugoslav side, to facilitate the reintegration with peaceful political means. [end recording]

Russia's Zhirinovskiy Arrives for Political Talks

Expected To Address SRS Rally

LD1910184895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 19 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, 19 Oct (SRNA) — A great patriotic rally of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] will be held in Novi Sad on Saturday [21 October] at 1200 unless something unpredictable takes place, Igor Mirkovic, chairman of the party's city branch, said at a news conference today.

Referring to the fact that a similar rally has been banned in Belgrade, Mirkovic added that the rally, which will be addressed by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of Russia's Liberal Democratic Party, and SRS chairman Vojislav Seselj, was registered in a regular way three days ago.

We expect the court in charge of this to make a decision by 1700 today, Mirkovic said. He added that there are no indications that the rally will be banned.

"There are no reasons to ban the rally, but if it is nevertheless banned it will not be held," Mirkovic stressed. He said that Zhirinovskiy is expected to arrive in Belgrade on Friday at 1000.

In his words, a delegation is expected to visit Zvornik after the rally and meet the leadership of the Serb Republic.

Police Break Up Banned Rally

LD2110164395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 21 Oct (TANJUG) — Despite a ban on their meeting, supporters of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] gathered today outside the Vojvodina sports and business center in Novi Sad.

SRS representatives earlier told journalists they intended to "take a walk" in the streets of Novi Sad, led by their chairman, Vojislav Seselja, and his guest from Russia, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

Representatives of the Novi Sad secretariat for internal affairs [police] asked the organizers to call off the meeting because it had been banned. Because several thousand people at the meeting did not disperse, and blocked traffic in Maksim Gorki Street, the police ordered the meeting participants and citizens to disperse. The meeting was eventually broken up after several separate, sometimes violent, incidents.

The organizers of the meeting, headed by Seselj and Zhirinovskiy, returned under police escort to the premises of the SRS Novi Sad committee.

Russian Meets SRS Deputies

LD2010192495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG) — A delegation of Liberal Democratic Party deputies of Russia's State Duma, led by party chairman Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, held separate meetings today with deputies of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] in the FRY Assembly and in the Serbian Assembly.

The delegations of the two parties assessed in their talks that it is vital that the parties, which are in many respects similar, establish closer cooperation and form a joint alliance.

SRS Chairman Vojislav Seselj, who hosted the Liberal Democratic Party delegation this morning, said that the FRY "is under incredible pressure from the big powers, which are trying to destroy the Serb nation in the Balkans."

Expressing satisfaction over visiting Belgrade in October [anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade in World War II], Zhirinovskiy stressed that today's date, apart from signifying the victory over fascism, also symbolizes "the date when Russia helped the Serbs."

At a news conference afterward at SRS headquarters, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party gave the

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assessment that the "West European countries have begun a new military campaign against the Slavs, and the first victims are Serbia and Russia."

The Slav countries, Zhirinovskiy stressed, must form an alliance based on pan-Slav solidarity, which would act as a counterbalance to the NATO pact.

Speaking about the role of Russian representatives in the peace process, Zhirinovskiy stressed that so far they have not protected Serb interests, and by their actions "they have only aided and abetted the demise of Russian policy in the Balkans." [passage omitted]

'Thousands' Applaud Zhirinovskiy

AU2010211895 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 20 (AFP) — Russian ultra- nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy won an ovation from thousands of sympathisers Friday [20 October] as he went walkabout in central Belgrade accompanied by the far-right Serbian nationalist Vojislav Seselj.

Zhirinovskiy, whose Liberal Democratic party won the second largest vote in Russia's 1993 parliamentary elections, arrived earlier to attend a protest meeting called by Serbian nationalists opposed to the policies of President Slobodan Milosevic in Bosnia. The meeting however was cancelled by the Belgrade authorities.

Zhirinovskiy was later received by the head of the Serb Orthodox church, the Patriarch Pavle.

He and Seselj lit candles "to the memory of Russian and Serb fighters fallen for the cause of liberty."

SRS Signs Alliance Agreement

LD2210110495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG) — In Belgrade today Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] and Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], signed an agreement on a political alliance between these two parties.

The document was signed at a joint news conference at which it was stated that the aim of the document is to defend as effectively as possible the Russian people and the Serbian people and their interests.

Expressing satisfaction with the fact that for the past two days he has been visiting the FRY and the Republic of Serbia at the invitation of the SRS, Zhirinovskiy stressed that he "has fathomed the full depth of the crisis and seen the power of political forces."

He describes the agreement on cooperation as significant because, he added, these are two patriotic parties which operate through state institutions in their respective countries.

Seselj stressed the shared view that the LDPR delegation's visit was successful.

The LDPR delegation is returning to Moscow today.

Assembly Head Hails Milosevic's Peace Policy

AU2110212195 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Oct 95

[Report by Predrag Stojadinovic from Kragujevac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kragujevac has the right and moral obligation to demand that peace be established everywhere, and that blood never be spilled anywhere again as has happened in its district of Sumarice. This was stated by Kragujevac Mayor Zivorad Nesic, at today's solemn session of the city assembly marking the 54th anniversary of the execution of 7,300 patriots and the 51st anniversary of the liberation of the town.

Greeting those present on the liberation day, and paying respects to those who were executed, Dragan Tomic, chairman of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, said that it was unfortunate that horrible pictures of the Kragujevac tragedy have been revived in the past few years, and that in this war in the former Yugoslavia, as was the case a half a century ago, it is the weak that are suffering most frequently: children, women, and the elderly.

[Begin Tomic recording] The leadership of the Republic of Serbia led by President Milosevic has persistently been conducting a policy that protects to the maximum the interests of our people as a whole. With enormous sacrifices of their citizens, Serbia and Yugoslavia have unselfishly been helping our people on the other side of the Drina River when they needed the help most.

We did not insist on peace at any price, especially if such a peace was threatening to collapse quickly with new and more violent bloodshed. Serbia said that it was in favor of peace when a just and honorable peace plan was offered, a plan that would put an end to the suffering of the people, senseless casualties, and destruction, a plan that would ensure a certain and lasting peace.

Our stand has been and remains that peace cannot be achieved to the detriment of other peoples, that is, the sides to the conflict. The peace that we want is the peace that will ensure the survival of the Serb people in that area, and not a peace without Serbs on that side of the Drina River and a Serbia full of desperate refugees, to

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which the militant policy of the leadership from Pale had stubbornly been leading.

One should bear in mind the fact that the Pale leaders would certainly not have been so persistent with their policy had they not had the support of, fortunately, a small section of the political public in Serbia. Those who are trying to transform the Serbian political scene into a theater scene, picking for themselves the roles of Sterija's patriots, do not want peace, the lifting of sanctions, and the return to normal life. War, this is well known, has always been an ideal time and place for all kinds of meddling.

The forthcoming peace conference will confirm the righteousness of the efforts of the leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia for all conflicts to be solved with peaceful means. Such a policy, which is being fully represented by our president Slobodan Milosevic, has helped turn Yugoslavia and Serbia from the alleged source of instability in this region to the recognized factor of peace, stability, and cooperation on the basis of equality.

This offers real chances for the peace process to succeed, the Serb people to have their rights legalized, the refugees to return, suffering to stop, and reconstruction to begin.

These goals are supported by the great majority of citizens of Serbia, and this is the best proof of the correctness of the policy that has been conducted, as well as that it will be realized. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Calls for Lifting of Sanctions

LD2110142095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 21 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Oct 21 (TANJUG) - Serbian Parliament President Dragan Tomic said here Saturday that the policy of peaceful resolution of conflicts helped turn the Republic of Serbia and the FR of Yugoslavia from a 'source of instability in the region into recognized factors of peace and cooperation on the basis of equality'.

Speaking at the solemn session of the city assembly of Kragujevac, to mark the day when the German occupier executed, in 1941 in Sumarice, 7,300 citizens and high school students, Tomic pointed out that the policy is contributing to the success of the ongoing peace process.

Peace would legalize the rights of the Serbian people, make possible the return of refugees, and put an end to the suffering and mark the beginning of renewal.

Tomic said that the lifting of unjustified sanctions would create conditions for carrying out development projects which would raise production, create new jobs, and a better life for people.

Turkish Border Monitors Stop Gasoline Smuggling

AU2210153695 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 95 p 10

[Report by S. Stankovic and M. Babic: "The Turks Have Closed Djerdap"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the past 20 days there has been a complete lull in many places at the "Djerdap Sea" in which the gasoline smugglers and the Romanian border guards used to clash. Thanks to the diligence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the Turkish monitors who have replaced the Norwegians at the border have left this "oil field" without a drop of oil. While the price of gasoline is constantly rising on the black market, the oil barons are waiting with empty barrels and tankers for the denouement of the situation, which is uncertain at the moment.

The most crowded smugglers' nest (consisting of tents, shanty houses, small cottages, houses, and holiday homes) is situated between Golubac, Brnjica, and Dobra, at the best access points to the river [Danube] from both sides, which is also the widest part of the river (1.5 km). In the rush for the gasoline business, damage has been caused to almost the entire river bank, including a beach near a popular restaurant, "Toma." The restaurant itself has been turned into a gasoline storage site.

Similar auxiliary pumps and storage sites have sprung up in other surrounding places. The smell of gasoline is present everywhere between Pozarevac and Tekija. Last spring and summer, there were frequent clashes here between the traders and Romanian border guards and among the smugglers of gasoline themselves. [passage omitted]

In Romania, for 10 German marks one can get 14,500 lei, and with this money one can buy at the local gasoline stations about 25 liters of good quality gasoline. If one adds on to the price of the imported gasoline the premium for various substances to "enrich" the gasoline, which is now being sold for 2.5 German marks or 10 dinars in Belgrade streets, then it is clear that the smugglers will not easily give up their business. [passage omitted]

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Kosovo

Rugova Demands Inclusion in Peace Talks

AU2110210895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 20 Oct 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Speaking to reporters today in Prishtina [Pristina], President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova hailed the determined action of U.S. President Bill Clinton toward ensuring peace in southeastern Europe, as well as the stance of the American envoy, Richard Holbrooke, that there cannot be peace in the Balkans as long as the Kosova issue is not resolved. President Rugova welcomed German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's statement that the Kosova issue has not been forgotten in the current discussions about peace in the region. He noted also the announcement of UN special rapporteur for human rights, Ms. Elizabeth Rehn, that she will soon visit Kosova.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova called a very significant moment the demand of the Albanian representative to the UN General Assembly for Kosova's self-determination, noting in addition the very productive trip of President Sali Berisha of Albania to Italy and his meetings with senior state dignitaries in Europe.

Hailing an amendment on Kosova introduced by Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and approved by the U.S. Senate, President of the Republic of Kosova reiterated his demand for Kosova's inclusion in the Paris Peace Conference on the former Yugoslavia. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova demanded that Kosova be part of the succession proceedings of the states that have emerged from the defunct Yugoslav Federation, adding that Kosova should be part of the comprehensive international reconstruction plan for the region. "Kosova was member of the International Bank as well as the European Bank for Development," the president pointed out.

Speaking about the current repressive situation in Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said the Serbian regime has continued to crack down on Albanians by carrying out police expeditions in dozens of Kosova places and targeting Albanian political activists, teachers, and journalists. He noted the Serbian regime's practice of confiscating passports of Albanians, making mention of the four employees in the president of Kosova's office who have recently been stripped of their travelling rights. President Rugova of Kosova denounced the outrageous Serbian regime's campaign of looting Albanians in the Kosova marketplaces, adding that the firing of Albanians who had retained their jobs in the public economy, currently in Serbian hands, has continued, singling out the recent case of over 300 Albanians being kicked out of their jobs in the "17 Nentori" firm in Ferizaj [Urosevac].

The Kosova president renewed his call for placement of Kosova under international protection, pointing out that the position of the state and political institutions of Kosova is that an optimal solution to Kosova is an independent and neutral state, based on the will of the people of Kosova. Dr. Rugova reasserted the need for a temporary, interim, civil international administration in Kosova, so as to facilitate a negotiated settlement of the Kosova question.

Asked by a reporter to comment on the announcement that liaison offices of Bosnia-Herzegovina and self-proclaimed Yugoslavia (Serbia Montenegro) will be opened soon, as well as expectations that sanctions on Serbia will be lifted once a peace deal is reached in the U.S. between Milosevic, Tudjman, and Izetbegovic, and what will the impact on Kosova be, President Rugova said the opening of liaison offices in Belgrade and Sarajevo is "a positive step." He recalled that he had been pressing for such an arrangement when he had asked the opening of a Kosova bureau in Belgrade, which would "facilitate communications and cooperation between Prishtina and Belgrade." The U.S.A. peace talks will be an important step towards a comprehensive settlement of the problems in former Yugoslavia, he said. "The sanctions will depend on the outcome of the talks and the settlement of the Kosova issue," president of the Republic of Kosova said.

The Voice of America (VOA) Albanian Section's correspondent asked President Rugova when will the Kosova Office be opened in Washington. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said a representative Kosova office will be opened soon in Washington, adding that there are LDK [The Democratic League of Kosova] offices in several American cities, like New York, Detroit, Chicago. A Kosova office has been opened recently in Brussels, the seat of the European Union, President Rugova said.

Commenting on the internationalization of the Kosova issue and the right to self-determination, President of the Republic of Kosova said the principle of self-determination of the people has gained in prominence since the 1920's, from the time of American President Wilson. "Regrettably, the Albanians saw only a semi-self-determination then," Dr. Rugova said, adding that the right to self-determination is a right which has been promoted alongside the peaceful resistance and the promotion of the society and state of Kosova. "Realization of independence is a self-determination matter," President Rugova ended.

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